ARTICULATING A TRANSNATIONAL FAMILY:
'HIPPO FAMILY' LANGUAGE LEARNERS
IN JAPAN AND THE USA
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Articulating a Transnational Family: 'Hippo Family' Language Learners in Japan and
        the USA

Thesis directed by Associate Professor Kira Hall

Hippo Family Club is an international language-study organization with
hundreds of local chapters around Japan, as well as several in the United States,
Korea, and Mexico. The group also partners with other organizations in various
countries to operate study-abroad and other foreign exchange programs. Hippo's
primary activity, though, is the self-directed study of multiple foreign languages. The
organization sells audio recordings that relate stories in multiple languages. Club
members believe that by listening to these stories and repeating their content,
attending weekly chapter meetings where they practice speaking, and participating
with the club's exchange programs they can acquire the ability to speak many foreign
languages.

This dissertation presents an ethnographic study of Hippo Family Club
practices in Japan and the United States. The analysis presented here is based on
ethnographic field work in several sites, including Osaka and Kanagawa prefectures
in Japan and Massachusetts in the United States, between 2005 and 2009. During this
time I participated as a member of Karagoku Family, a Hippo Family Club chapter in
Osaka prefecture. I also participated on various occasions with several other chapters,

interviewed members of the various chapters, and recorded interactions at weekly meetings. The study combines ethnography with discourse analysis.

I argue that club members in Japan and the USA view the learning of multiple languages as a means to build a form of cosmopolitan citizenship. Cosmopolitan citizenship is a view of personal identity formed not within the nation-state but as a member of a transnational group. Club members view themselves as part of a global community of fellow club members and language learners. This view of identity freed from national or ethnic groups and instead tied to an international organization is seen as a break from Japanese tradition. In contrast, even though club chapters in the United States use the same learning materials and express ideas about language learning that appear very similar to those expressed in Japan, American members do not experience the same break from tradition. Given the differences in US and Japanese ideologies of language learning, American members view Hippo as an addition to traditional practices.

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CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ix

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

Introduction
"What is Hippo? Hippo's a Hippo." (track one, *Hippo Goes Overseas*)

1.1. Initial encounters

I never set out to describe the activities of Hippo Family Club. Indeed in retrospect I can see that the first time I ever heard of the club I had already begun this project. Without really intending to I found myself doing ethnographic fieldwork in just the manner described by John Van Maanen (1988): I arrived knowing few people, feeling cut off from my culture of origin, to become an active part of the face-to-face relationships of a previously unknown cultural community.

In 2005 I received a fellowship from the Japan Foundation to attend their Japanese Language Program for Specialists. This entailed living at the Foundation's Kansai International Center, a small campus built on reclaimed land – land fill in what used to be part of the Seto Sea – near the Kansai International Airport, about 35 kilometers from Osaka. I lived in relative isolation with my fellow students, about two dozen junior scholars, graduate students, and librarians who had also come to study the Japanese language. That fall, about a month after our arrival in Japan, pairs of center fellows were matched with local families in what was called the "home visit program." Another fellow and I were given contact information for the Tanaka[1] family, who had volunteered for the program, and we were told to contact them to arrange a visit to their home. I telephoned Mrs. Tanaka and we arranged a day and time to meet. About a week later on a cool November evening, my colleague and I took the thirty-minute train ride to the town where the Tanaka family lived. Mrs. Tanaka met us at the train station in her neighborhood, and we walked with her to her

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[1]   Except where otherwise noted, the names and nicknames used for individuals and club chapters are pseudonyms.

home. I was a bit surprised when Mrs. Tanaka addressed my colleague, a graduate student from the Korea, in Korean. My own Korean language ability was not sufficient to follow the conversation, so I just looked on mutely and followed as Mrs. Tanaka walked toward her home. Mrs. Tanaka apologized for excluding me from the conversation. "*Iie, nanimo arimasen*" (Not at all, it's nothing), I volunteered. My colleague seemed amused, and Mrs. Tanaka, who said she was learning Korean, seemed to relish the opportunity to practice.

Mrs. Tanaka explained that her husband would not be joining us, but that we would be having dinner with her friends and their children. She mentioned that she and her friends were members of something called Hippo Family Club, and that her friends were nicknamed Tomazo, Kamachan, and Mikan. As I later found out, Hippo Family Club members regularly address one another using their club nicknames. My colleague and I called Mrs. Tanaka by her family name, which the Japan Foundation had used in materials introducing us, but she also told us her own club nickname: Sky. Sky told us that Hippo Family Club members learn Korean, English, and other foreign languages. On that day, though, our conversation during dinner took place in Japanese.

I had come to Japan with the hope of learning first-hand about bilingual speakers in the country. Japan is stereotypically thought of as a monolingual country despite the presence of numerous language minorities (Maher and Yashiro 1995, Gottlieb 2005). As in the United States, this image of monolingualism exists both in the minds of those who regard the country from the outside and many who live inside

Japan. Three months into my stay, however, I had been unsuccessful in meeting

bilinguals in the semi-rural area around the Japan Foundation Kansai Center.[2] Since

the Hippo Family Club members I had met at Mrs. Tanaka's house professed an

interest in languages, I thought joining the club might be a good way to meet other

multilingual people. A few weeks after our first encounter, just before the 2006 New

Year holiday, I sent the Tanaka family a New Year greeting card. In it, I mentioned

that I found Hippo Family Club interesting. A week or so later Sky sent me an email

inviting me to a Hippo meeting. That evening I studied local maps in order to find the

meeting place she had told me of – a rehearsal studio in the community center of the

town the Tanaka family lived in.

The next morning was sunny and surprisingly temperate for early January. I

took the train to the town where the Tanaka family and their friends lived, located the

community center, and with trepidation entered my first Hippo meeting. Outside the

rehearsal studio, in a small vestibule, was a metal shelf on which there were five pairs

of shoes. I removed my own shoes and slowly opened the door to the rehearsal room

itself. Inside were Mrs. Tanaka and her three sons, who I had met earlier, and a man

who turned out to be Mr. Tanaka. "*Hola!*" came the immediate greeting in Spanish,

followed by, "*Ah, Chado-san*" ("Oh, Chad," in Japanese) from Mrs. Tanaka. She told

me that she wasn't sure whether I would really come, but was glad to see me. She

introduced me to Mr. Tanaka: "*Uchi no shujin desu*. My husband." He added his own

nickname: "*Tanaka-papa desu*" ("I'm Tanaka-papa"). I would come to recognize this

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[2]   According to the Osaka General Affairs Bureau (2006) Cities and Towns Administrative Group,
     the entire district of Sennan-gun, in which the Center is located, had a population of 70,811 at the
     time. The nearest town, Tajiri, had a population of 7,782.

speech style, with simple sentence structures, often accompanied by phrases from the addressee's native language, as a common pattern of interaction between Hippo members and foreign guests. At this, my first meeting, I just smiled and nodded, a bit dazed.

For the rest of my stay in Japan, I would attend these 'Family' meetings each Saturday morning. Hippo uses the English word 'family' in several ways. Obviously, the word appears in the name of the group, Hippo Family Club.[3] In addition, the names of many, though not all individual chapters often include the English word *family*, sometimes combined with words from other languages, as with 'Borracho Family' from the Spanish word for "drunk" or 'Konton Family,' a pun on Japanese *konton* (chaos) and French *content* (happy).[4] Such names are usually whimsical, sometimes even nonsensical, as in the chapter I joined, 'Karagoku Family.' The regular weekly meetings I attended were also called 'Family,' as opposed to special meetings, which were labeled *junbi-kai* (preparation meetings) in Japanese.

After greeting me, the three Tanaka boys, Ryo (aged 11), Keichan (10), and Shin (7), returned to their task of coloring posters with crayons, while Sky explained to me that people were still arriving, and the meeting would begin soon. All the while, a speech of some kind was playing on a small digital audio recorder attached to a public address amplifier, and Tanaka-papa was trying to repeat what the speaker on the recording was saying. I would learn that this practice of parroting the content of

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[3]   This English name is used in Japan, Korea, and Mexico, where the organization is sometimes also called '*Club Familiar de Hippo*' using Spanish. Only the US branch of the club uses a different name, LEX Language Project. See Chapter 5 for more detail.

[4]   The names Borracho Family and Konton Family are actual names of chapters with pages on the World Wide Web. Karagoku is a pseudonym.

Hippo recordings, known as *metakatsu*, is considered an important part of the Hippo learning method. The word *metakatsu* combines the Greek prefix *meta-* (among, after) and the Japanese *katsudou* (activity), and describes the practice of reciting the content of Hippo recordings, either in unison with the recording or from memory. The latter is known as '*nama-meta*' (raw *metakatsu*). This happens at almost all chapter meetings, though not always as part of a pre-meeting activity as it was at Karagoku Family. At other chapters, *metakatsu* may be included as a major element of the meeting proper, or combined with the telling of personal narratives, as described below.

The rehearsal studio had a slightly worn hardwood floor. One long wall featured a ballet rail behind which were floor-to-ceiling mirrors covered by thin curtains. The opposite wall was a bank of windows. The door I had entered through was in one narrow wall; a piano concealed under a cover sat along the opposite wall near where the boys were coloring and their parents were practicing *metakatsu*.

After a few minutes Mikan, one of the women from the party at the Tanaka home, came in with her children Taro-kun (5) and Yuu-chan (3), and her husband Hiro-chan. As they entered, they called out "*Hola*" (Spanish meaning "Hi"), and were answered in kind. This is, I would learn, the standard way in which club members greet one another. On certain occasions, as when a member returns after a long absence or a potential new member visits, this may be followed by a welcome in Japanese, but the norm is for greeting in Spanish and leave-taking with Mandarin *zai jian* (see you later).

I began to notice a pattern in the formation of Hippo nicknames. The women I had met at the Tanaka home had relatively creative nicknames based on foreign words (e.g. 'Sky'), puns (e.g. 'Mikan,' which is recognizably related to the given name Miki but also means "tangerine" in Japanese), or nonsense (e.g. 'Tomazo,' which sounds like a European name but has no obvious meaning). Their children, on the other hand, generally had nicknames that were either all or part of their given names, often with the addition of -*kun*, an honorific suffix attached to the names of social equals, or -*chan*, a variant of the standard honorific -*san* often used with children's names (Makino and Tsutsui 1989).[5] This is possibly attributable to the fact that members are expected to select their own nicknames at the time they join the club. Young children, whose decision to join is probably greatly determined by their parents, may be less prepared for verbal cleverness in naming themselves. In this respect my own nickname, *Chado*, based on the common Japanese pronunciation of my given name, follows the juvenile pattern.

A few minutes later, Kamachan and her youngest daughter, Oto-chan, arrived. Arrival times, I noticed, were quite irregular, with several families arriving very near the nominal starting time but others arriving up to an hour late for what was scheduled to be a two hour meeting. This would prove to be a common pattern at Hippo meetings in other parts of the country as well, where I would witness harried families rushing to round up busy children and travel to weekly meetings together.

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[5]   I am clearly not the only one who noted the pattern of children's nicknames resembling their own given names. When I met Yuu-chan again three years after leaving Japan, at which time she had begun elementary school and saw herself as mature, she informed me that her new nickname was Ribbon-chan.

Sky announced that we should begin, and Tanaka-papa pushed a few buttons on the audio player, switching from the speech he had been listening to, to a woman singing in a language I didn't recognize. The assembled members all stood in a circle, and Sky motioned for me to join them. As I looked on, bewildered, they began to dance. Tanaka-papa told me to watch what everyone else did, and to join along as best I could. I turned from one to another and tried to follow the pattern of hand-clapping, marching, and kicking that made up the dance. As the song ended, everyone laughed and talked, and Kamachan asked me how I enjoyed the dance. "*Muzukashii*" (difficult), I said, and she chuckled. This was my introduction to the activity known as 'SADA.'

Along with *metakatsu* and group talking (below), SADA is a major activity of weekly meetings. 'SADA' is an acronym of 'Sing Along, Dance Along.' It consists of singing songs, dancing, and playing games, most of which are variations on the game of tag. The songs come from a set of CDs sold by LEX Institute, the non-profit corporation that operates Hippo Family Club, called *Sing Along, Dance Along*. The CDs include children's songs and folk songs from a variety of cultures and languages, and members listen to them while dancing or playing games at weekly meetings. Some of the games have foreign-language content. For example, we played a game called *Iro-onni* (Color tag), in which the player who is "it" names a color in some foreign language and all of the other players must touch some object of that color. The purpose of SADA didn't really appear to be practice with target languages, however. The activity seemed to function primarily to establish and maintain a

playful, inquisitive atmosphere for the meeting. After playing color tag, Tanaka-papa

returned to the digital recorder and played a recording of London Bridge, sung in

English. Kamachan turned to me: "*Shitteru?*" (Do you know this?) I nodded. We

formed a line and began to play the game familiar to me from my own childhood. As

we were playing, more people arrived. Everyone greeted one another with "Hola!"

and the new arrivals joined the game.

After about forty minutes of SADA, Sky took a blanket and a microphone

from a large bag in the corner of the rehearsal room. As the blanket was spread on the

floor, several of the children ran to where their jackets and bags were piled around the

edge of the room to get what looked like notebooks. Everyone sat on the blanket in a

large circle, and Sky motioned for me to sit next to her. "*Saisho dare?*" (Who's first?)

she asked, and everyone raised their hands. "*Chado wa?*" (What about Chad?) I was

the only one who hadn't raised my hand. I raised it sheepishly, as most of the children

began waving their raised hands and crying out to be recognized.

Sky handed the microphone to Ryo, who handed the notebook he had been

holding to Tanaka-papa. As Tanaka-papa held the book up, Ryo opened it to show a

picture of his family. The book – actually a clear pocket binder – contained

photographs and drawings of Ryo, his family, and various activities he enjoyed. He

spoke in Korean, and though I couldn't understand most of what he was saying, I

figured that he was describing the pictures that included his home, a soccer goal, and

a group of boys standing on a beach. After he had described the pictures and Tanaka-

papa set down the binder, Ryo announced "*Kankoku-go, taitoru to ichimai me*"

(Korean, title and first page). He then proceeded to recite something from memory, as the other club members joined him in unison.

> Hippo e hewe naduri.
> Hippo ga moji. Hippo nun hippo ji.
> Nado Hippo. Nodo Hippo. Uri nun modu Hippo turiji.
> Uridurun choum tukkpyoru hangoya.
> Cha, Hippo Famiri Kurab sonmurida,
> Hippo e hewe naduri.

It was only later that I would come to understand that he was reciting the opening tracks of a Hippo Family Club recording called *Hippo Goes Overseas*. Ryo's recitation was in Korean, but the same passage is included in the English version of the recording.

> Hippo Goes Overseas.
> What is Hippo? Hippo's a Hippo.
> I'm a Hippo. You're a Hippo. We're all Hippos.
> We are something special.
> Now, the Hippo Family Club presents,
> Hippo Goes Overseas.

This activity, variously known as *uta* (song) or *hanashi* (story, talk) at Karagoku Family, is the third major portion of weekly meetings. For this activity, all members sit in a circle and take turns speaking. One of the most common topics for these speeches is *jikoshokai* (self-introduction). For children, this introduction consists of one's name, birthday, family, home, and favorite activities; the order of these elements is fairly fixed, and is modeled on the recording, *Hippo Goes Overseas* (see Chapter 6). Children often illustrate their talk with an album of drawings and photographs called *kamishibai* (paper theater) after the early twentieth century

tradition in Japan of story telling with illustrated cards. As I later figured out, Ryo had been making just such a self-introduction, as well as introducing his 'host family.' His *kamishibai* included pictures both of his parents and two younger brothers, and of the children of a family he had stayed with during a trip to Korea, who he identified as his 'host brothers.' Since self-introductions follow a set pattern, other members can understand the content of the speech relatively easily, regardless of their fluency in the language used. In addition, if a speaker has difficulty recalling some portion of the memorized self-introduction, other members offer prompts.

While most of the children made standard self-introductions, the adults were more varied in what they spoke about. Some produced self-introductions following the same pattern, but others talked more casually about recent events in their lives using various languages, including Japanese. After a member produces a self-introduction or some other short speech, she or he recites some track from one of the club recordings, usually announcing the name of the track so that others may also join in. Occasionally, someone would claim that they needed help from '*CD sensei*' (Professor CD). At this, Sky or Tanaka-papa would locate the selected track on the digital recorder and all of the members would mimic the voices on the recording as it played.

During my first few meetings, I could not understand the rules of this speech genre. This was problematic, since all members and even guests are expected to produce some talk during this part of the meeting. At that first meeting I listened intently, hoping to be passed over, as the children vied with one another for

permission to speak next. After all of the children had spoken, the adults took turns speaking. Finally, I was handed the microphone and told that it was my turn. When I protested that I didn't understand what I was expected to do, I was assured "*Nandemo ii*" (Anything is fine). Indeed, it is considered rather inappropriate for members to give one another specific instructions or to attempt to correct one another's errors, at least explicitly. This is a major difference between Hippo Family Club practice and language teaching, which members are quick to point out (see Chapter 3). During my first few meetings, I spoke briefly about myself in Japanese or in English. In later weeks I would attempt to exercise the Spanish I had learned in school and then used as an English teacher in Arizona. Eventually I would feel comfortable enough to try out bits of Mandarin or Korean discourses I had heard on the Hippo recordings or from other members.

Finally, after everyone had spoken, all of the members stood in a circle, crossing their arms in front of them and holding the hands of the people on either side of them. I was advised to put my right arm over my left as I joined the circle. Everyone then chanted a short song in unison. Although I didn't realize it at the time, they sang in Mandarin, ending with a single Japanese word. (In these lyrics, Mandarin is shown in ordinary type face, Japanese in bold face. An English translation is included in the right column.)

Zai jian, zai jian	Goodbye, goodbye
Pengyou men,	Friends,
Zai jian, zai jian	Goodbye, goodbye
Pengyou men.	Friends.
Zai jian	Goodbye

Zai jian	Goodbye
Zai jian, zai jian	Goodbye, goodbye
Pengyou men.	Friends.
Zai jian	Goodbye
Pengyou men,	Friends,
Zai jian	Goodbye
Haizi men,	Children,
Sayonara.	**Goodbye.** [Japanese]

Next everyone turned around, hands still clasped, to face out from the circle, then immediately returned to face inward while reciting in Japanese: "*Migi ni magatte, mada modoru*" (Turn to the right, then turn back). They all then dropped hands and chanted words meaning "good bye" in about a dozen languages, ending with the Japanese *Sayonara*.

I would come to think of this as "the zai jian song." Although this elaborate ritual was only practiced at the end of weekly Family meetings, it was common practice to use the Mandarin phrase *zai jian* when a member left a meeting early, or when parting after a party or other gathering of Hippo members, just as it was standard to greet fellow club members with the Spanish word *hola*. Variants of the song are sung at most of the Hippo chapters I visited, sometimes with a variant of the hand-clasping ritual and sometimes without. Many chapters use only the first verse, and only a few include the subsequent list of goodbyes in other languages.

For the next five months, I would participate in Karagoku Family meetings every week, as well as joining club members in public activities and private parties. After a few weeks, I asked my fellow club members whether they would mind if I

wrote about my observations at the weekly meetings for a research report I was expected to make to the Japan Foundation. Most of the club members were excited to be part of such a project, and all agreed to let me proceed. I began recording some of the weekly meetings, and by May I had produced a short description of Karagoku Family, including a very brief ethnographic description of our first meeting in the Tanaka family home and an analysis of portions of three speeches during the *uta* activity at Family meetings (Nilep 2006). Over the next three years I would expand these observations with additional trips to Japan and to LEX Language Project chapters in the United States.

1.2 The Hippo method

The weekly 'Family' meetings described above are only a part of the Hippo learning method. The method can be divided into three major sets of activities: the use of Hippo recordings, weekly meetings, and 'home-stay' activities.

When they join a club, members buy a set of recordings known as 'Hippo Tapes' or 'LEX CDs.' Although all of the recordings are actually on CD, the term 'Hippo Tapes' endures from the club's beginnings in the early 1980s, when the recordings were on cassette tape. There are now several sets of recordings, most of which contain a single story told in multiple languages. The club's promotional materials, as well as unsolicited descriptions from members, claim that by listening to these stories members can acquire subsequent languages in a process similar to first language acquisition. According to a club web site, "By playing these CDs as often as

possible – at home while cooking, cleaning, or relaxing, at the gym, in the car – we can experience a natural immersion environment" (LEX Language Project 2007). This "natural immersion" is thought to parallel the process of first language acquisition. The CDs are generally sold with one or more books that reproduce the content of the audio recordings, but in my experience the books are used relatively infrequently.[6]

The motto of Hippo Family Club, which one often sees on posters or other promotional materials, is "*Nana-ka kokugo o hanasu, nichijou ga aru*" (Speak seven languages, it's natural), usually rendered in English-language materials as "Anyone can speak seven languages." The seven languages referred to are those included in the basic 'transnational edition' of Hippo materials: Chinese, English, French, German, Japanese, Korean, and Spanish. These were the first seven languages to be practiced using the Hippo method. In addition, the club now produces books and recordings in Arabic, Cantonese, Hindi, Indonesian, Italian, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Swedish, Taiwanese, Thai, and Turkish, and is currently preparing materials in Swahili. The current 19, and soon 20 language repertoire notwithstanding, the motto still refers to seven languages.

Hippo club members are encouraged to learn multiple languages at the same time. In this respect, the program is rather different from that suggested by other companies' learning materials. Rosetta Stone Ltd., for example, describes its program in terms that are very similar to LEX/Hippo descriptions:

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[6]	More description of the content of these recordings is included in Chapter 6.

> The Rosetta Stone method unlocks your natural ability to learn a language. [...] As a child, you learned to speak instinctively by experiencing the world around you. Our solution recreates this experience through a fully immersive environment right on your computer. (Rosetta Stone Ltd. 2009)

Compare Rosetta Stone's description with this one from the Hippo Family Club web site, under the heading "Immersion Environment":

> Infants don't learn their native language by breaking the language down into little pieces of grammar and vocabulary, or by looking in a dictionary, so why should a child or adult learn other languages that way either? (LEX Institute 2007)

Where Rosetta Stone refers to learning 'as a child,' LEX describes 'infants' learning; Rosetta Stone describes its 'immersive environment' while LEX describes its 'immersion environment.' Evocations of 'natural ability' and learning 'instinctively' in the former quote also resemble Hippo's discourse of 'natural language acquisition' (see especially Chapter 3). Rosetta Stone's instructions differ from Hippo Family Club in an important way, though, when they instruct learners, "Get started by selecting one of the following 31 languages" (Rosetta Stone Ltd. 2009). In most schools, learning products, or the like, learners are expected to learn one language at a time, an approach sometimes criticized by language educators as "serial monolingualism."[7] In contrast, Hippo materials generally contain seven target languages interspersed within the tracks of a single CD or lines of a book.

Weekly practice at most of the club chapters I visited uses one or both of two story CDs, *Hippo Goes Overseas* and *Multilingual Friends around the World!* On these CDs, each track is in a different language so that, for instance, you might hear

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[7]   Crago (2006) attributes this term to Catherine Snow in a personal communication. Others also use the term, though generally without citing a source. I am unable to determine an original source.

the story's title in Korean, followed by a brief monologue in German, later a conversation in Spanish, and so on. In this way, members are obliged to listen to multiple languages while focusing on their preferred target language. Tanaka-papa explained to me his understanding of the Hippo position on learning multiple languages at the same time. If a Japanese person attempts to learn English, he suggested, she might become frustrated at how difficult the new language seems compared to Japanese. If, on the other hand, a learner who concentrates on studying English is also learning some French, Korean, and Thai at the same time, she may be encouraged at her relatively greater progress in English. In subsequent years, I have heard similar explanations from other Hippo Family Club members as well. Indeed, it is my impression that most club members are relatively interested – and proficient – in one or two target languages, while also developing lesser ability in many of the other club languages.

The club recordings are utilized in two ways, one active and one more passive. As described above, members often practice *metakatsu*, an activity that involves reciting the content of the recordings either from memory or while listening. Most club chapters in which I have participated include *metakatsu* as a portion of weekly meetings. In addition, on multiple occasions I have seen club members listening to Hippo recordings in their cars or homes and producing short pieces of the conversations along with the recordings. This resembles nothing so much as the common habit of singing along with the radio, and indeed club members often refer to the practice as 'singing.' Both individual members and official materials use this

trope. The Japanese Hippo web site says (my translation), "In every country, words have a beautiful rhythm and melody" (LEX Institute 2007). Members often compare the practice of repetition to singing karaoke – at first, you can only hum along with this rhythm and melody; gradually you learn the words, until finally you are able to sing on your own. Indeed, the practice of *metakatsu* is sometimes called *uta* (song, singing).

In addition, the recordings are often listened to in a more passive mode, without any attempt to recite the content. I was quite puzzled to see club members using the story recordings as what they call '*BGM*' (background music). For example, one family I stayed with in Japan would switch on a CD player filled with Hippo club recordings as soon as they arrived home in the afternoon or awoke in the morning, and allow it to play as long as they were in the house. Not only was no one actively engaged in listening to the recording, no one appeared to pay any attention to it at all. The recording would continue to play softly in the background even as they read, conversed with one another in Japanese, or watched television. When I asked my host about it, she explained that she believed the passive presence of multiple languages in the background of her daily activities simulates the experience of living in a multilingual community. This, she believes, increases her receptiveness to learning new languages.

As described above, weekly meetings consist of three major elements: *metakatsu*, SADA, and talking time. The order and relative length of these elements varies from location to location, but each is present in all chapters. The most variable

element is *metakatsu*. At Karagoku Family, *metakatsu* was often used as a pre-meeting activity. The first members to arrive would practice with the recordings as they waited for others to arrive. The *metakatsu* activity then reappeared during talking time, as each member was expected to name and then recite a track from memory at the end of his or her talk. Contrast this with the usual practice at Éminent Family, a club I joined in Kanagawa prefecture in eastern Japan. There, usually during the middle part of each meeting, after SADA, a CD player would be set on a table. All of the club members would stand in a circle around the table and practice *metakatsu* together, repeating in unison the content of the CD. Similarly, LEX Language Project meetings at the LEX America headquarters in Belmont, Massachusetts, would often have a similar practice in which all of the members joined in a circle and recited with a CD. Compared to Éminent Family, however, *metakatsu* was usually much shorter at Belmont – two or three tracks at the latter, compared to as many as eight at the former. Also, at Belmont members would sit on the ground for *metakatsu* and remain seated for talking time immediately thereafter. At Éminent, everyone would stand for *metakatsu* and then sit for members' talk.

While a number of slightly different practices are united with the name *metakatsu*, the relatively consistent practice of giving speeches during meetings is referred to by a number of names. At Karagoku, members would often call the activity '*uta*' (song). At Éminent it was '*saakuru*' (circle). In Belmont, it was often called '*kamishibai*' (paper theater) in reference to the books of pictures used. In each location, the activity was also sometimes called 'talking time.' In every case, however,

the essence of the practice was the same: every member at the meeting was expected to talk. That talk could be a self-introduction, illustrated with *kamishibai*, or it could be a prepared talk in the language of the teller's choice, or even announcements in Japanese or English. What was consistent, though, was that each member would hold the floor during her or his turn. Actual speech by other members, such as reminding the designated speaker of words in the target language, co-reciting elements from LEX CDs, or offering feedback in response to the speaker's talk was not regarded as an opportunity to take the floor from the formally recognized speaker.

The most consistent element of weekly meetings in Japan and the US is SADA. Each chapter uses the same CDs, and members in all chapters know many of the same dances and games. This is despite the fact that members and club facilitators frequently create new games and dances. A member of any chapter may attend meetings of other chapters, and some members regularly attend multiple weekly meetings. In addition, after a club member has traveled abroad, she or he will often visit several clubs and describe the experience during talking time. When members of different clubs join a meeting, people are anxious to teach new dances or games. In this way, the stock of SADA activities is constantly changing, yet fairly consistent from chapter to chapter. There are favorite activities in some chapters that are rarely practiced in others, but there is a definite sense of all chapters drawing from a common stock of activities. This stock consists primarily of circle dances and simple line dances, and of games that are variations on tag. In addition, though, there are guessing games, card-matching games, and games involving balls or small toys.

In addition to recordings and weekly meetings, the home-stay program comprises the third portion of Hippo Family Club practice. Some Hippo members go abroad for short stays (members I have interviewed have generally stayed for four to fourteen days) during which they stay with host families. There are also longer stays, such as the year-long program for high school students, and the Tokyo internship for young adults from the US.

Both children and adults participate in the short stay program, which is known officially as the 'Transnational Exchange Program,' but generally called simply 'home-stay.' Recall that Ryo (above) introduced his 'host family' along with his own family during his self-introduction. Participants in this program generally speak about the families that hosted them using kinship terms – i.e. "my host mother, host father, host brother" etc., especially when speaking English or Japanese. I have also seen Japanese members use the Anglo-Japanese[8] word *hosuto* (host) when speaking other languages – e.g. *hosuto hermano, mère de hosuto*, etc.

The largest proportion of home-stay program participants I spoke to in Japan had visited Mexico, Korea, or the United States – all countries with Hippo Family Club chapters. Many of the host families were Hippo club members, but in the US the largest proportion of host families are affiliated not with Hippo but with 4-H. The 4-H club bills itself as "a community of young people across America who are learning leadership, citizenship and life skills" (4HUSA 2007). 4-H was founded around agricultural activities, and many of the young people who had visited the US stayed

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[8]   Japanese has borrowed the English word *host* in the sense of "one who offers hospitality." Accommodation to Japanese phonotactics yields *hosuto*.

in rural parts of the midwestern and western states. The relationship between Hippo and 4-H is long-standing. Hippo founder Yo Sakakibara began working with 4-H to send Japanese youth to stay with American 4-H families in the 1970s, before he established Hippo Family Club as such, and LEX America was created in 1985 largely in order to coordinate the exchange program (LEX Language Project 2007). Two members of the LEX board of directors are also members of 4-H Club's national leadership.

As important as going abroad is hosting visitors from various countries. During the time that I participated with Hippo chapters in Japan I met visitors not only from the US, Mexico, and Korea, but also from Austria, France, Indonesia, Malaysia, Russia, Thailand, and Vietnam who were staying with members of various clubs I participated with. While they are staying with Hippo families, these guests come to weekly meetings, where they are asked to describe their homes and families in the manner of members' self-introductions. These descriptions are given in the guest's native language and then repeated in Japanese, or else translated or approximated by a member of the host family. Guests who come from abroad must apply well in advance, and volunteer host families are sent brief descriptions of their guests several weeks before their arrival. It is common for hosts to concentrate their language practice on the national language of their guest's country of origin in the weeks before they arrive.

High-school aged members of Hippo Family Club can apply for the 'Year Long' program to spend one year as a high school exchange student. I met members

who had spent the tenth or eleventh grade in Canada, France, Korea, or the US, and others who were hoping to go to Canada, Russia, and Taiwan. Undoubtedly, the opportunity to spend an entire year abroad provides both tremendous life experiences and the chance for more language learning than Hippo club meetings alone. On the other hand, some people I spoke with expressed disappointment that their studies abroad were not accepted as advancement toward graduation from high school in Japan, and as a result they had graduated a year later than their peers. In addition, high school students who were applying for the Year Long program expressed considerable distress at having to pass the Secondary Level English Proficiency (SLEP) test, a multiple choice test designed to assess readiness for English-medium instruction (Stansfield 1984). While Hippo Family Club is proud of its "no tests" attitude (see Chapter 3), participation with school systems seems to necessitate some formal testing. I have no data on the overall proportion of Hippo Family Club participants who pass the standardized test, but all of the young people I talked to eventually succeeded in spite of their uneasiness.

Finally, LEX America operates an intern program that selects young adults, aged 18-25, from the US to live in Japan and work at the LEX Institute headquarters in Tokyo. LEX Institute is the parent organization that operates Hippo Family Club and its associated programs in Japan, in addition to producing CDs, books and other materials, and administering the various travel exchanges. While in Tokyo, American interns work in LEX Institute offices, offering English-language as well as cultural expertise. Interns help prepare Japanese sojourners before they depart for North

America, and speak to various groups such as elementary and junior high school students and church groups about life in the United States. I met two LEX interns at the LEX Language Project headquarters in Massachusetts, one who was on her way to Tokyo to begin the program, and another who had completed her internship and was offering advice to the newly departing intern. Both were young women from the Midwestern United States, and both had been members of 4H clubs. In addition, I met the current intern – a female college student from Maine – during my first trip to the LEX headquarters in Tokyo, and spoke with her several times while I was in Japan. Although she had not been a member of a LEX Language Project club in the US, she was very enthusiastic about her participation in a large Hippo Family Club chapter in Tokyo.

1.3 Outline of the dissertation

In this dissertation I will argue that Japanese members of Hippo Family Club view the learning of multiple languages as a means to build a form of cosmopolitan citizenship, allowing themselves access to a broader world. This vision of cosmopolitan citizenship is a break from Japanese nationalist discourses that see individual identity as rooted in national identity. In addition, I note that even though LEX Language Project in the United States uses the same learning materials and expresses ideas about language learning that are, on the surface, nearly identical to those produced by Hippo Family Club, members of LEX America do not experience cosmopolitan citizenship in the same way that Hippo Family Club members in Japan

do. Given the difference in US and Japanese nationalist discourses, American members view LEX as an addition to traditional ways of learning, not as a revolutionary break.

Hippo Family Club is frequently described as 'transnational,' both in official club materials and in the everyday talk of club members. Indeed, the club operates chapters not only across Japan, but also in the United States, Mexico, and Korea. Such a 'transnational' outlook and practice aligns with contemporary projects variously described under headings including "globalization," "late modernity," and "the new economy" (Gal 2007). Many familiar projects of globalization relate to the movement of capital, information, or other means of production across the borders of nation-states. These include labor supply chains (Tsing 2008), global electronic media (e.g. Appadurai 1996, Stocchetti 2007), or international call centers (e.g. Cameron 2000, Heller 2003). Sociolinguists, anthropologists, and other scholars of language use in social settings have made important contributions to understanding these processes and their effects on social institutions. It is primarily through language interaction that institutions such as the nation, the corporation, and the neighborhood are constructed and reproduced. This dissertation contributes to the understanding of individual experiences and conceptions of globalization by interrogating the face-to-face interactions of individuals who imagine themselves to be part of a global movement. Hippo Family Club's emphasis on learning and becoming part of a transnational family serve as a locus of socialization into cosmopolitan identities.

Nikolas Coupland suggests that "sociolinguistics is already 'late getting to the party'" of studies under the heading of 'globalization' (2003: 465). He dates a literature on globalization in sociology to the 1990s, and suggests that the term only became prominent in sociolinguistics in the 2000s. Yet work by linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists on language contact (e.g. Pratt 1991, Rampton 1995), language and political economy (e.g. Gal 1989, Irvine 1989), and the commodification of language (e.g. Cameron 2000, Heller 2003, Besnier 2004) can also be seen as contributions to a literature on globalization. Other scholars of communication from Ien Ang (1985) to Peter Backhaus (2007) have similarly made the movement of language varieties, discourses, and texts around the world a focus of study. Thus, studies within the broad coalition of sociocultural linguistics (see Chapter 2) have long been at 'the party' of studies on and critiques of globalization in its many guises, even if this work was not framed as such at the time.

At the same time, though, many studies in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics labeled as work on globalization have been criticized for paying too little attention to the actual practices of language users. For example, Alistair Pennycook criticizes sociolinguistic studies of the global spread of languages such as English, viewing them as "largely tied to an earlier era of sociolinguistics, in which identities are pre-given and tied to nationalities" (2003a: 515). Much sociolinguistic work has attempted to draw broad theoretical conclusions on the general functions that languages play when groups from distinct localities interact with one another, or when media texts produced in one setting are taken up in another. General

conclusions, such as the one that Pennycook characterizes as "English is for international communication and local languages for local identities" (2003a: 516), ignore not only the specific differences that hold across locations, but also the transformations of 'outside' languages in local practices such as *crossing* (Rampton 1995) or *styling* across social space (Hill 1999). For example, a Japanese rapper who mixes English varieties with standard and regional varieties of Japanese to create his rhymes (Pennycook 2003a) is enacting a local identity – one that has cachet specifically within the realm of Japanese hip-hop – with a so-called international language. At the same time, he is performing in a hip-hop nation language variety that differs from its global cousins in Cairo or Soweto in ways that make it particularly relevant to its Japanese audience (Alim 2008).

Pennycook finds similar fault with studies in applied linguistics or the sociology of language that focus on the spread of dominant languages, especially English (Pennycook 2003b). Such studies, he charges, are often content to take a macro-level view of English in the world. The major divide in such work is between what Pennycook labels the "homogeny position," which suggests that the global spread of English is leading to the homogenization of local cultures, versus the "heterogeny position," exemplified by the "World Englishes" model (e.g. Kachru 1986, Bhatt 2001), which describes a heterogeneous set of locally adapted English varieties. Both the homogeny position and the heterogeny position focus on the English language as such, including its positioning within macro-sociological institutions. Thus, neither is able to interrogate the ways in which language users

understand and relate to the language varieties around them (see also Bucholtz and Hall 2008). Macro-theoretical studies, while undoubtedly necessary, are insufficient to bring us to an understanding of the spatially dispersed sociocultural interactions that comprise globalization. For this reason, the current study begins from an engagement with individual language learners in order to explore how they understand their relationship with fellow learners, with language education as an institution, and with the nation-state.

Unlike the globalization studies critiqued by Pennycook, which focus on languages or varieties as such, this dissertation focuses on individuals learning and using these languages, and the effects of global change on their lives. As such, it is positioned within a tradition of ethnographic work in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology on local experiences of global languages. Analyses such as Niko Besnier's discussion of how Tongans enact modernity by buying and selling second-hand goods from the United States in the Nuku'alofa market (2004), Monica Heller's discussion of the complex relationships of Canada's francophone minorities with both non-francophone Canada and the broader, international francophonie (1999, 2003), or Susan Gal's early work on the ideological positions of the German and Hungarian languages in twentieth century Hungary and their effects on rural sex roles (1978) comprise a literature on the effects that global changes have on language users. The view from the ground that these ethnographic studies allow is crucial to understanding the reception and resistance of the macro-level changes described in studies of code choice or language planning. Descriptions of local reception,

refashioning, and use provide a more nuanced understanding of language change and a necessary corrective to totalizing views of the sociolinguistic situation from the top down.

This study broadens the focus of language and globalization studies by considering neither the fates of minority languages nor the practices of minority groups, but the multilingual practices and ideologies of middle-class actors in Japan and the United States. Unlike the linguistically or ethnically marginalized subjects who are often placed at the center of globalization studies, most Hippo Family Club members come from the ethnic and linguistic majority groups of their local areas. This work is not unique in focusing on such subjects: similar groups are often positioned as the consumers of globalized cultural commodities, especially in work by sociocultural anthropologists (e.g. Appadurai 1986, Friedman 1994, Cook and Crang 1996, Tsing 2000). But while members of Hippo Family Club undoubtedly enjoy a sense of connoisseurship that their burgeoning multilingualism and their relationships with people from far-off locations afford them, their discourse features far more talk about their place within a Hippo 'family.' Club members identify with other Hippos around the world, an identification based primarily on a desire for multilingualism and trans-local connection. Therefore, while this work is placed within the historical and sociocultural milieu of globalization, it is interested in language users' ideologies of language and language learning, and the identity-work by which Hippo Family Club members come to see themselves as part of a 'transnational family.'

The chapters that follow explore ideologies of language and language learning apparent in the discourse of Hippo Family Club members. Chapter Three, "Ideologies of language at Hippo Family Club," explores the language ideologies and folk-theories of language learning that exist among members of Hippo Family Club in Japan. I describe ways in which Hippo club discourse positions the learning of multiple languages as a break from a traditional view in which language and ethnicity have been seen as closely linked to Japanese nationality. An important element of this discourse of change is the way in which Hippo language learning practices break with the pedagogical tradition in Japanese schools. Chapter Four, "Language ideologies II: LEX America," examines the parallel case of LEX Language Project, a sister organization in the United States founded as an overseas expansion of Hippo Family Club. Although LEX Language Project and Hippo Family Club use the same materials and profess the same goals, unlike Hippo in Japan the American club is not seen as equally ground-breaking. Chapter Five turns to discussion of specific differences between club practice in Japan and the US. Despite their distinctions, club members in both sites come to imagine themselves as part of the same 'family.' In Chapter Six I explore the notion of a transnational identity and the process by which members come to see themselves as part of such a global community.

Before analyzing specific data, I lay out the research methods employed in this study in Chapter Two, "Methods for sociocultural linguistics." As suggested above, this study straddles the fields of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and the sociology of language, while also drawing on theories and methods associated

with other allied fields. I describe myself as a sociocultural linguist, since I am interested in the insights that can be drawn from the various disciplines that study language use in its social settings. Therefore in Chapter Two I review some of the recent discussions of sociocultural linguistics as a coalition approach, especially in the work of Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall (2004, 2005, 2008). Additionally, I review historical calls for interdisciplinary work in linguistics, anthropology, and sociology, viewing the recent discussions as a reemergence of an old desire – as indeed do the scholars on whose work I rely. Chapter Two also describes the combination of participant observation, ethnographic interviewing, and analysis of spoken and written discourse on which this work is based. While a good deal of the analysis presented here examines stretches of talk or writing, exploring linguistic and discourse practices such as the interdiscursive repetition of certain forms or the reenactment of speech genres, this discourse analysis is crucially supported by knowledge gained through ethnographic methods. Conversely, the general understanding of Hippo ideologies and ways of being that are uncovered through participation with club members in their local chapters is crystallized and made manifest through linguistic discourse. The constellation of methodologies described in Chapter Two therefore allows both a broader and a clearer understanding of club practices and ideas than either ethnography or discourse analysis alone could provide.

Chapter Three discusses two views of language learning that are apparent in Japan: first, a common understanding in schools that treats language as a set of natural laws to be memorized and manipulated, which I label *language as physics*,

and second, an alternative view common among Hippo Family Club members that I call *language as script*. Each of these language ideologies accords in some ways with scholarly theories of grammar and cognition, and each has positive as well as negative influences on language learning. For this reason, Chapter Three begins with discussion of not only the particular ideologies visible in Japan but of past work on language ideologies and the distinct but related sense of the term developed here. This work addresses the positive as well as negative effects of Hippo Family Club members' language ideologies, and their overlap as well as points of departure with scientific understandings. As Kathryn Woolard (1998) suggests, it is not necessary to make a sharp distinction between ideology as misrecognition and ideology as folk understanding. In addition, while much past work on language ideologies has focused either on folk understandings of the nature of language or of the relationships among language varieties (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994), the ideologies described here relate to understandings of the functions of language and the approaches to language learning that grow out of them.

The language-as-physics ideology can be seen in language teaching, both in schools and in *eikaiwa* (English conversation programs) in Japan. This view equates language with natural science, treating the lexicon as a set of elementary particles and grammar as the natural laws that govern their interactions. Consequently, it is believed that the best way to learn a foreign language is to memorize the models and to manipulate them appropriately. This results in students who are able to pass grammar-heavy standardized tests, but who cannot speak their target languages. In

contrast, Hippo Family Club's language-as-script approach views language as the ability to reproduce utterances, and assumes that learners can acquire this ability naturally once they have internalized sufficient input. They therefore set out to memorize the texts of the Hippo Tapes without explicit attention to linguistic structure. The result is an ability to use certain high-frequency formulas in multiple languages with little meta-linguistic knowledge.

Chapter Four discusses a different type of language ideology: the values placed on monolingualism and multilingualism in the United States. It presents a reading of public opinion research on language policy through the lens of the Melting Pot narrative. Americans variously view the presence in the United States of languages other than English as a threat to national unity and the cultural status quo, and as an advantage for individual bilinguals, especially those in the ethnic and socioeconomic mainstream. Hippo Family Club's rhetoric of multilingualism for all would appear to be at odds with ideas of the nation-state as monolingual and unified. Since its membership is primarily middle-class, however, Hippo's offer of acquired multilingualism aligns with discourses of multilingualism as an individual advantage. Chapter Four examines how club materials construct Hippo members as educated members of the middle class whose participation with the club bestows educational advantages upon them. In addition, American members' talk during meetings illustrates an understanding of language and language learning that is more closely aligned with academic discourses than that of their Japanese counterparts. Where Japanese club members describe a major contrast between the quality of second-

language learning afforded in formal schooling and that acquired via Hippo practice, American club members often describe the club as an adjunct to schooling in the same tradition of pedagogical practice.

Chapter Five, "Perceptions of similarity and difference," turns to club members' discussions of the differences between Japanese and American versions of LEX/Hippo. It is common in studies of language and identity to describe the distinction that group members see between themselves and non-members of their in-group. The discourse treated in Chapter Five is, however, complicated by the fact that Japanese Hippo members see differences between themselves and members of LEX America, yet see their language practice as closer to that of the sister club than the Japanese educational establishment. A major axis of difference between the Japanese and American club chapters relates to what I term *cute*. Juvenile cuteness is one approved form of adult femininity in Japan (Kinsella 1995, Miller 2006). The Japanese club, whose members are mostly adult women and children, uses a variety of juvenile images, including the name "Hippo Family Club." Even though LEX Language Project has a similar proportion of young members, it affects a Latin sounding name, much as educational products in the US are marketed under names that evoke academic tradition, such as Rosetta Stone or Baby Einstein. I relate these difference between the US and Japanese understandings of their common endeavor to the clubs' situatedness in different educational discourses. While the Japanese club is seen as a break from a monolithic approach to schooling lead by the Ministry of Education (James and Benjamin 1988), the US club exists amid a variety of locally

controlled schools (Stevenson and Nerison-Low 2002). What appears to be the circulation of Hippo discourse between Japan and the United States is in fact the production of distinct but related discourses. As Gal (2007) suggests, the perception of flow is an interdiscursive achievement. Descriptions of language learning do not literally flow from Tokyo to Massachusetts; they are reproduced and subtly changed by American speakers in a new setting and then viewed in retrospect as instantiations of the same discourse.

In Chapter Six, "Identifying with the transnational family," I analyze the process whereby members of Hippo Family Club and LEX Language Project come to identify with fellow club members they will never meet. Key to this process is the notion of *adequation* (Bucholtz and Hall 2004), whereby individuals selectively emphasize the similarities between themselves and others, while individual differences are ignored or explained away in a form of erasure (Irvine and Gal 2000). Chapter Six describes the image of the ideal Hippo club member that is created by the narrative content of the Hippo Tapes. In each narrative, a member of Hippo Family Club travels abroad and makes friends with the people she or he meets. The central protagonist of each story displays uncertainty and initial difficulty communicating in a foreign language, followed by rapidly increasing fluency and eventual success in forming relationships with hosts. Club members are invited to identify with the narratives, which present only general sketches of their protagonists with few specific details. Indeed, club members' descriptions of their own experiences show a similar

progression from uncertainty to success, as well as genuine but shallow relationships with their hosts that parallel the descriptions in the narratives.

I further argue in Chapter Six that club members' perceptions of similarity with the protagonists in the Hippo stories are projected onto a relationship with other club members via a process of fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000). Judith Irvine and Susan Gal first suggested the notion of fractal recursivity as a process of linguistic differentiation. Differences perceived to exist between social groups are imagined to hold between individual members of those groups, or between larger or smaller divisions. In a similar fashion, members of Hippo Family Club first identify themselves with the protagonists of the Hippo narratives; similarity between the listener and the narrative protagonist is then projected onto fellow chapter members and eventually onto members of other chapters in distant parts of the world. Much as newspapers and other commercially produced media texts allow the citizens of nation-states to imagine a relationship with fellow citizens by virtue of simultaneous existence in an ideological space (Anderson 1983), their experience with club recordings allow Hippo Family Club members to imagine a relationship with other club members who are having similar experiences in distant locations.

The description of Hippo Family Club members' understanding of language learning as a means of developing cosmopolitan citizenship brings a more grounded view to studies of language and globalization. Unlike sociolinguistic studies that view the global spread of dominant languages from above, this work views the practices of learning and interacting with those

languages from the ground up. Furthermore, the focus on middle class, suburban subjects helps to broaden the conversation beyond globalization as a neo-colonial imposition, or localization as a form of resistance or reclamation. The subjects described here view a certain level of multilingualism as a means of access both to cosmopolitan connoisseurship and to enriched interpersonal relationships across the boundary of the nation-state. The distinct local realizations of this cosmopolitan vision further emphasize the interdiscursive nature of global flows, and illustrate the local imagination of global connections.

Methods for sociocultural linguistics
"Well, if you all show up, maybe we really could do it, huh?"
(track 24, *Multilingual Friends Around the World!*)

2.1. Research methods

Rather than being clearly centered in sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, or the

sociology of language, this dissertation draws from methods used in a variety of fields

and occupies a theoretical ground straddling traditional academic boundaries.

Although I do not view the various fields that study language in its social settings as

distinct, I am nonetheless cognizant of Ben Rampton's description of perceived

divisions among subfields. "Different branches have developed since the 1960s and

70s, led and populated by different figures, [and] the boundaries around these

specialisations are sensed as clear and consequential, even though they're far from

impermeable" (2008: 525). As Rampton goes on to point out, however, fields such as

sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology that are thought of as distinct disciplines

still bear a family resemblance both in theoretical interests and in overlapping

methods. As Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall suggest,

> The development and spread of sociolinguistics and
> linguistic anthropology, along with discourse analysis,
> conversation analysis, and many other approaches, has
> created an interdisciplinary foundation for the study of
> language, culture, and society. These fields do not come
> together under a single disciplinary banner but rather
> forge an alliance or coalition that fosters dialogue and
> collaboration between complementary approaches.
> (Bucholtz and Hall 2008: 403)

Rather than pledging alliance to one or another disciplinary banner, the current work

draws from several of these allied approaches, which Bucholtz and Hall label

sociocultural linguistics (Bucholtz and Hall 2004a, 2005, 2008). This chapter

describes the methods used in researching the dissertation, as well as my understanding of sociocultural linguistics as an interdisciplinary approach.

I will begin this chapter with a discussion of the methods used to gather and analyze the data. The primary methods used here come from ethnography and from discourse analysis. Therefore, I begin this section by explaining my own understanding and approach to ethnography and to discourse analysis as methods of discovery. I then describe my fieldwork and data collection in more detail. The initial fieldwork for this project was carried out in Kansai, western Japan, from 2005-2006, when I first joined Karagoku Family. I then visited eastern Massachusetts in the fall of 2006 and observed several chapters of LEX Language Project. Initial analyses were then created and shared with members of Hippo Family Club and LEX America. Following this initial period of analysis, I returned to the field, spending more time in Japan and in Massachusetts. During this second period of field work I was able to ask more specific questions, based on the results of my early analyses.

In the second section of this chapter, I return to the discussion of sociocultural linguistics as both an alliance of scholars from various disciplines, and as an approach in its own right to the study of language in society. I look briefly at the history of calls for socially engaged approaches to the study of human language, and at work in linguistics, anthropology, and sociology that has responded to this call. I see sociocultural linguistics as a continuation of this tradition. Finally, I argue that an approach that draws from sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and the sociology

of language can illuminate language behavior and individual ideas about language and language learning in ways that might not be accessible from any single approach.

The earliest methods employed in this study were ethnographic methods, especially participant observation. A the outset, however, I did not conceive of what I was doing as a research methodology. As described in Chapter 1, I first contacted members of Karagoku Family not as a researcher pursuing a project, but as a foreign guest in the home of the Tanaka family. Later I joined Hippo Family Club, not with any explicit intention of studying the club's approach to language learning, but as a means of meeting individual bilinguals who I might interview or otherwise study. Every week I attended Karagoku Family meetings, gradually learning how to behave in order to get along with my fellow club members as we practiced speaking foreign languages. For many weeks I was frustrated that I could not find any subjects to study, but I enjoyed practicing with my fellow club members. Eventually, and only in retrospect, I came to see my activities as "doing ethnography" in the sense described by James P. Spradley: "Rather than *studying people*, ethnography means *learning from people*" (1980: 3, original emphasis).

The usual approach to doing ethnography begins by selecting a project and making a few basic decisions about its scope. Unlike some other forms of research, these projects do not generally begin with a hypothesis to be tested. Rather, the project may be defined in terms of describing some group of people (e.g. Heller 1999, Linger 2001) or some situated practice (e.g. Irvine 1974, Bauman 2001). The goal of an ethnography is to discover aspects of the social world as group members

understand and experience them, rather than to find the answers to particular questions that are posed ahead of time.

Spradley (1980) suggests that the ethnographer must discover and describe three aspects of human experience. The first of these, *cultural artifacts,* are the objects that people make or shape from the natural world so that they may use them in specific ways. The ways in which artifacts are created and used are specific to the culture of their users, so that understanding them provides necessary insight into that culture. Artifacts of Hippo culture include Hippo tapes, *kamishibai* (picture albums), and microphones. The second aspect of culture that should be described is *cultural behavior*, the things that people do. The behaviors of specific interest in the study of Hippo Family Club are those behaviors that define the club as distinct from other aspects of daily life, such as attending weekly meetings and all of the specific behaviors that constitute these meetings. The identification of cultural artifacts and cultural behaviors are key to uncovering Spradley's third category, *cultural knowledge*. Cultural knowledge is the large body of shared knowledge that members of a sociocultural group are socialized to know, and which they rely on in order to interpret experiences and to behave appropriately within their society. It is the understanding of this broad reservoir of cultural knowledge that is ultimately the goal of an ethnographic project.

Discourse analysis forms the second major methodology employed in this dissertation. The approach to discourse analysis that I employ is greatly inspired by conversation analysis (CA) (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974) in terms of its

technique, but differs from typical CA analysis in important theoretical assumptions.

Like a conversation analyst, I prefer to consider data with as little remove from the

moment of interaction as possible. This means that my analyses rely on video

recordings of interactions, rather than on transcripts of those recordings or coded data

sets derived from instrumental measurements. The transcription conventions used to

present the data in written form are also derived from conventions commonly used

within CA. Unlike traditional CA, however, my interests in the data are not primarily

related to the structure and pragmatic function of interactions or participants' shared

knowledge of the norms for communication. While these aspects of talk-in-interaction

are of interest, I also attempt to reconstruct cultural knowledge displayed across

interactions or described in the participants' own words.

Conversation analysis began as an attempt by sociologist Harvey Sacks and

his colleagues – notably Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson – to describe the

orderliness of talk in interaction (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974).[9] Inspired by

studies of ethnomethodology (Heritage 1984a), CA describes the social order

underlying conversation and other discourse behaviors. This includes procedures for

turn-taking, the sequencing of conversational acts, and preferred structures for

completing an interaction. Over the course of several decades, the CA approach has

been adopted by scholars from sociology, communication studies, psychology,

linguistics, and other fields (Auer 1984, Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998, Ford, Fox, and

Thompson 2002, Ohara and Saft 2003, inter alia). Conversation analysis is an

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[9] Work prior to Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), especially work by Sacks during the 1960s and early 1970s, provides important background to CA as such. See for example *Lectures on Conversation* (Sacks 1992).

inductive, empirical form of research that attempts to describe the procedures that underlie discourse by analyzing naturally occurring talk as a form of interaction that is systematic and orderly at all levels. Conversation analysts typically assume that this order can be observed in discourse interaction itself, with no need to appeal to outside knowledge or experience.

Critics of conversation analysis have suggested that despite CA's remarkable success at uncovering the norms of talk-in-interaction, richer understandings of the knowledge displayed in discourse can be achieved by combining its methodology with other forms of investigation. For example, Christopher Stroud (1998) argues that by proscribing argument from knowledge gained outside the interaction under investigation, CA may fail to understand the local significance of the conversational forms it analyzes. Speakers, after all, have experienced a lifetime of discourse and other socialization prior to any particular moment of interaction. It is possible that parties to an interaction take up a position relative to some prior knowledge or experience that is not visible to an analyst who comes to the interaction without this experience.

There are two reasons why I have pursued an approach to discourse analysis that, while inspired by the methods of conversation analysis, attempts to recover knowledge that is not obviously displayed in the immediate interaction. First, as described above, I am interested in patterns of cultural knowledge beyond those necessary for successful face-to-face interaction. This cultural knowledge includes attitudes toward social institutions such as education, or tactics for achieving identity

positions. While such cultural knowledge is constructed via interaction among members of the social group, it is not equally visible in every interaction. Second, as a relative newcomer to the world of Hippo Family Club and the culture of Japan, I do not assume that I can always see the displays of procedural knowledge that group members understand in particular interactions. As Kira Hall argues, "The social meaning behind the use of particular linguistic forms in everyday conversation can only be determined by attending to the local worlds of discourse that control meaning-making" (2009: 144). Hall suggests that the analyst cannot recognize the forms of cultural knowledge that are produced through interaction without understanding the cultural context within which the participants interpret them. The cultural knowledge that participants display to one another in an interaction may not be visible to analysts who do not share their view of the world.

In addition to analyses of spoken discourse that draw from the tradition of conversation analysis, this dissertation analyzes written or other less-interactive forms of discourse. I note that, while written discourse is less interactive than dyadic or multi-party speech, it is not without an interactive dimension. Even written discourses display a degree of intertextual dialogism (Bakhtin 1981). That is, all language use exists within a history of linguistic behavior. Since language use is a shared, interpersonal phenomenon, every instance is informed by instances in the users' past and has the potential to inform future uses. The analyses in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, in particular, illustrate how talk during Hippo Family Club and LEX Language Project meetings is linked to written and audio-recorded texts that club members

expect one another to know. The spoken interactions analyzed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 are similarly informed by shared knowledge of Hippo recordings and other prior texts.

Let us now turn to a more concrete description of how the data were collected. Data collection occurred in three phases: (1) my initial period of interaction with Karagoku Family during 2005-2006; (2) participant observation and video recording at LEX Language Project clubs and the LEX America headquarters during 2006; and (3) my return to the field in 2008 and 2009. In addition, I analyze Hippo Family Club's language-learning recordings and written material from the web pages of LEX Institute and LEX Language Project.

My initial interaction with Karagoku Family took place between November 2005 and May 2006. As described in Chapter 1, I first met the members of Karagoku Family when I was introduced to the Tanaka family as part of the Japan Foundation Kansai International Center's 'home visit' program. I began to attend Hippo meetings in January of 2006, and eventually became a club member. Since I did not intend this as a research project from the first, my early field notes were quite spotty. Fortunately, as a research fellow of the Japan Foundation, I was expected to make a report on my activities during my stay in Japan. This lead me to keep general records, and eventually to pursue additional methods of data gathering. Those early notes consisted primarily of an accounting of meeting times and places, and lists of the activities practiced during each meeting. As I became more interested in the club activities I began to note my perceptions of the differences between language learning

at Hippo and the intensive Japanese language classes that I was enrolled in at the research center where I lived.

By the end of January I had decided to record some weekly Hippo meetings so that I might report their content to my sponsors in the Japan Foundation. I discussed this idea with the members of Karagoku Family, who were quite excited by the prospect. Although my Japanese sponsors did not require it, I obtained informed consent from all of the club members, in accordance with common research practices in the United States. Starting in mid-February, I began to make video recordings of the weekly Family meetings.

The process for making video recordings evolved over several weeks. After I had obtained informed consent from all club members, I began to video record weekly meetings. At first I would place a small video recorder on a tripod in one corner of the room and allow it to record whatever was occurring. This proved to be less than ideal, as the one-hour video tapes were insufficient to record an entire meeting, and without monitoring the camera I could not focus on individual speakers or other focal events.

After a few weeks I adopted a more useful approach to using the video camera. As described in Chapter 1, weekly meetings at Karagoku progressed from a pre-meeting phase during which members who arrived early would practice *metakatsu*, then to the dancing and game-playing known as 'SADA,' and eventually to 'talking time' during which each club member was expected to deliver a speech. My procedure involved setting up the camera and tripod during the pre-meeting phase and

switching on its built-in screen, but not starting the recording. During the initial minutes of each meeting, the children present would pay a great deal of attention to the camera, taking special delight in seeing themselves on the screen. Eventually, though, most of them would tire of looking at the camera and would participate in SADA activities as normal. During talking time, I would place the tripod next to me in the circle of participants, and turn the camera toward each speaker in turn. Some club members, especially seven-year-old Shin Tanaka, would look through the camera's view finder or otherwise pay attention to the camera, but the presence of the camera did not otherwise seem to have an obvious effect on speakers.

The use of material technologies of research allowed me to recognize the nature of my own activities as research. That is to say, after I had created and used informed consent forms and had begun to use a camera, I began to take more care with my notes and to think of my participation with Hippo Family Club as doing ethnography. For example, I began to record folk terms for the various activities and types of meetings, and to attend to the different uses of physical space and the range of behaviors enacted by each club member.

In May of 2006 I presented a report on language learning at Hippo Family Club to the Japan Foundation Kansai International Center. I described my initial encounters with the Tanaka family and the practice of typical weekly meetings. I also analyzed three fragments of spoken discourse from the 'talking time' portion of meetings. I concluded that Hippo Family Club practices had generally positive effects on language learning. More importantly, I concluded, the treatment of language

learning as a play activity produced positive attitudes toward languages and a positive
inclination to interact with unfamiliar people.

My report at the Japan Foundation Kansai center was well-received by the
members of Karagoku Family. Several members attended the public event during
which I reported my findings. I wrote the report in Japanese and gave the written
report to the club. With the help of the Japan Foundation staff, I also prepared an
edited version of the video data recorded during meetings, which I likewise
distributed to club members. When I left Japan at the end of May, 2006, several
Hippo Family Club members accompanied me to the airport and welcomed me to
return to Japan when I could.

In the summer of 2006, with support from the Department of Linguistics at the
University of Colorado, Boulder, I prepared to visit the LEX America headquarters in
Belmont, Massachusetts and to undertake participant observation at LEX Language
Project chapters. I began preparation by writing to LEX America headquarters and
describing my experiences with Karagoku Family in Japan. The program director and
staff invited me to visit them that fall. I spent the month of September participating
every week with each of the three LEX Language Project clubs that were active at
that time.

My participation in the LEX Language Project clubs differed somewhat from
my involvement with Karagoku Family. While I had spent several months to become
a member of Karagoku, my initial visit to Massachusetts lasted only one month. This
did not allow me to develop relationships of the same depth and quality as I had

established in Japan. While I was able to spend time in the home of the Tanaka family and otherwise socialize with Karagoku Family members outside of club meetings, my interactions with LEX club members were less extensive. On the other hand, since I had a clearer set of project goals and an understanding of Hippo practice in Japan to which I could compare LEX activities in Massachusetts, my field notes were more systematic and richer. In addition, I was able to carry out a small number of interviews with LEX club members, a research methodology I had not employed during my initial fieldwork in Japan.

I established a particularly rewarding relationship with 'Natalie,' the director of LEX America. Natalie had visited LEX Institute headquarters in Tokyo on numerous occasions, and had participated with Hippo Family Club chapters in Japan. She was therefore able to offer her impressions about the similarities and differences of Hippo practice in the two countries. In addition, I was invited to discuss LEX and its activities with a member of the LEX America board of directors who happened to be visiting Massachusetts at the same time that I was.

The members of two LEX Language Project chapters consented to be video taped. Some members of the third club preferred not to be recorded. For that reason, no recording took place at that chapter. At the chapters where video recording was welcomed, I recorded the 'talking time' portion of meetings, using a procedure similar to the one that I had developed in Japan. I set up the camera prior to the start of the meeting, but did not begin recording until we were all seated in a circle for talking time. Since some members expressed reluctance to see recorded images of

themselves, I did not move the camera to focus on particular speakers as I had in Japan. Instead, the camera was static and the screen was visible so that individuals could choose to remain out of the camera's view if they so desired. For this reason, only the voices and not the images of some participants were recorded. This difference did not have a particularly great effect on discourse analysis, though of course some information, such as gaze or gestures by these members, is missing from the record.

Following my return to Colorado in the fall of 2006, I prepared an ethnographic sketch of practice during LEX Language Project meetings. This sketch was sent to the LEX America headquarters, and from there was distributed to all members of the various club chapters. Club members were invited to contact me directly, or to contact the LEX America office with their comments or questions about the sketch. I received a small number of comments, which were helpful in refining my analysis.

After making observations in Massachusetts, I was able to refine the questions I had developed in Japan. I noted small differences between certain practices at Karagoku Family and their analogues at LEX America chapters. For example, while membership in Karagoku Family was more or less evenly divided between children and adults, one club in the United States had no children in it. I concluded that it would be necessary to visit other Hippo Family Club chapters in other parts of Japan in order to determine how typical Karagoku Family was of Hippo chapters there.

I did not travel to Japan or to Massachusetts during 2007. I did, however, maintain contact with members of Karagoku Family by participating in a distributed email list. Members frequently exchanged email in which they discussed club events, including *kouenkai* and visits from overseas guests. I also kept up email contact with the LEX America staff and a few individual club members.

In the fall of 2008, with support from the National Science Foundation, I returned to Japan. I spent the months of October and November in the Kanto region of eastern Japan. During this time I stayed with two different families of Hippo chapter members, living as a guest in their homes for one week each. Since members of Hippo Family Club often host guests from abroad, I was anxious to experience this element of club practice. During the rest of my stay in Kanto, I rented a small room in Yokohama. From there I could easily travel by train to a number of surrounding towns and cities.

While residing in Kanto, I traveled frequently to Tokyo to visit the LEX Institute headquarters. I also participated each week in three separate Hippo chapters, each within a half-hour train ride from Yokohama. In addition to my regular attendance at these three chapters, I made occasional visits to 21 additional chapters and special events. During these visits I made copious field notes, but made no video recordings. I was also able to interview members of several of the clubs I visited.

At the end of November, I moved to Kansai, western Japan, where I stayed during the months of December and January. At first I stayed in the city of Osaka, but soon moved to the nearby town where Karagoku Family is located. In Kansai, I

participated each week with Karagoku Family and one other club chapter in another city. In addition, I participated occasionally with twelve other chapters. I also visited the LEX Institute Kansai office in the city of Osaka on several occasions. Again, these meetings were recorded in field notes. I chose not to make additional video recordings during this time, since I believed that the need to secure informed consent from large numbers of participants could alter the character of the events. Through this multi-sited field work I was able to conclude that Karagoku Family practices are fairly typical of Hippo Family Club chapters in Japan. In addition, I was able to map a full range of normal club behaviors.

In March of 2009 I returned to Massachusetts. This trip was also supported by the National Science Foundation. By the time I returned, a fourth LEX Language Project chapter had been established. I participated each week at all four of these chapters. In addition, I was allowed to observe an after school program operated by LEX America staff at an elementary school in the Greater Boston area (see Chapter 4). My visit also happened to coincide with a meeting of the LEX America board of directors in Cambridge, Massachusetts. While I was not invited to observe the board meeting, I was able to meet all of the members of the board and to talk with them. I also carried out ethnographic interviews with several club members.

While the field notes and video recordings made during my visits to Japan and Massachusetts from 2006-2009 form the bulk of the data analyzed for this dissertation, additional data comes from pre-recorded or written sources. Three sets of audio recordings sold by LEX Institute and utilized by club members for language

learning are analyzed. *Hippo Goes Overseas* (Hippo Family Club 1985) tells the fictional story of Sonoko Ogura, a young Hippo Family Club member from Tokyo, who visits Janet Brown, a 4-H club member, somewhere in the United States. *Anyone Can Speak 7 Langauges!* (Hippo Family Club 1997) is a collection of short essays about Hippo Family Club written by club members and recorded by voice actors. *Multilingual Friends Around the World!* (LEX Institute 2006) tells the fictional story of Ichiro Suzuki, a Hippo Family Club member from Yokohama who attends high school in Wisconsin and later travels to Singapore and Mexico City. Additional written data comes from the web sites of LEX Institute (LEX Institute 2007) and LEX America (LEX Language Project 2007).

2.2. Sociocultural linguistics

This dissertation occupies a position between sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and the sociology of language both in terms of its methods and its goals. I am calling it a work of sociocultural linguistics, if for no other reason than that the term has less well-defined boundaries than do labels with longer histories of use. In this section I discuss sociocultural linguistics as a recently named, but long practiced interdisciplinary approach to language study that considers not only the formal structures of language but also the social and cultural functions of language use.

The label *sociocultural linguistics* was suggested by Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall (2004a) as a way of understanding language and social positioning based on scholarship in social psychology, linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, and other

fields of research. Elsewhere in the same paper, they refer to this broad swath of the social sciences as "socioculturally oriented linguistic scholarship" (2004a: 469). Thus the term was not proposed as the name of a new field, but as a description of any of a number of approaches from allied fields interested in language in its social and cultural settings. Bucholtz and Hall refined this definition in subsequent work.

> By sociocultural linguistics, we mean the broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture, and society. This term encompasses the disciplinary subfields of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, socially oriented forms of discourse analysis (such as conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis), and linguistically oriented social psychology, among others. (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 586).

Although proposed as an umbrella term for related approaches within various fields and not as a field in its own right, some subsequent studies suggested that sociocultural linguistics is a new interdisciplinary framework for analysis (e.g. Greer 2008, Ahlers 2009). Bucholtz and Hall stress that their use of the term is intended not to create or label a new approach, but simply to recognize "an interdisciplinary coalition that is already thriving but not always recognized" (2008: 404).

There is a long history of calls for interdisciplinary approaches from scholars in a variety of fields concerned with language in its social settings. Linguists, for example, have repeatedly sought to bring their own study of language as such closer to other fields of social inquiry. Writing in *Language*, the journal of the Linguistic Society of America, Edward Sapir argued that linguists needed to "become aware of what their science may mean for the interpretation of human conduct in general"

(Sapir 1929: 207). He argued that anthropology, psychology, and the social sciences

could be enriched by the findings of linguistic research, and urged linguists to look to

the social world within which language behavior exists.

> It is peculiarly important that linguists, who are often
> accused, and accused justly, of failure to look beyond
> the pretty patterns of their subject matter, should
> become aware of what their science may mean for the
> interpretation of human conduct in general. Whether
> they like it or not, they must become increasingly
> concerned with the many anthropological, sociological,
> and psychological problems which invade the field of
> language. (Sapir 1929: 214)

During the first half of the twentieth century, linguists produced a number of works

that attended to the social and cultural settings within which language is produced

(e.g. Hoijer 1948, Weinreich 1953, Haugen 1953). Language was also one of the main

focuses of four-field anthropology in the United States. Even if linguistic field work

had once been separated from ethnology (Mead 1939), by the 1940s linguistic and

sociocultural anthropologists could speak to common interests (e.g. Boas [1940]

1982, Barker 1947).

With the professionalization of linguistics and the move for the field as an

independent enterprise, some scholars in the 1960s were again arguing for a

linguistics that was more socially and communicatively engaged. In a special issue of

American Anthropologist (Hymes and Gumperz 1964), the journal of the American

Anthropological Association, Dell Hymes worried that Sapir's interdisciplinary

linguistics was being pushed aside.

> Sapir's hope may seem forlorn, if one regards the
> dominant aspect of linguistics in the first part of the

> twentieth century. The concern to establish autonomy as
> subject and profession ... has led in many hands to the
> segregation, often quite narrowly, of that which is to be
> accepted as properly linguistic from that which is not.
> (Hymes 1964: 1)

Hymes's concern about laboring in the shadow of dominant approaches to cognitive and grammatical-structural aspects of language notwithstanding, the 1960s saw the emergence of sociolinguistics as a subfield of linguistics (Labov 1963; Bright 1966). At the same time, studies of verbal repertoires (Gumperz 1964) and language socialization (Basso 1967) were appearing in linguistic anthropology; the sociology of language, with its attention to language planning and patterns of language use in societies, was emerging (e.g. Fishman 1966, Fishman 1968); and the ethnography of communication (Hymes and Gumperz 1964, Gumperz and Hymes 1972) was created as an approach to discourse analysis which drew on ethnographic as well as linguistic methods. As described above, conversation analysis also developed within sociology around this time and has subsequently affected all manner of fields.

Sociocultural linguistics is a new label for what was once called *sociolinguistics* or *linguistic anthropology* – that is, a broad area of research that encompasses work in linguistics, anthropology, and sociology (Bucholtz and Hall 2008). The latter terms, of course, have since been redefined as separate but related fields with their own histories and literatures (Rampton 2008). The term *sociocultural linguistics* may be seen as a new label for a longstanding tradition of interdisciplinary work, a label that does not bear the weight of such disciplinary history (Bucholtz and Hall 2005).

While I recognize that an interdisciplinary perspective is not new in studies of language use, I am nonetheless keen to label this dissertation as a work of sociocultural linguistics. An interdisciplinary approach is vital to understanding the ideologies of language learning and language use by which members of Hippo Family Club come to view themselves as cosmopolitan subjects in a global world. While approaches to the place of language in contemporary political and economic projects from a variety of fields have helped to shed light on recent social changes, no single field offers a complete view on its own. Therefore, interdisciplinary approaches and coalitions among scholars are necessary to understanding complex social processes. By labeling this work *sociocultural linguistics*, I offer it to colleagues across subfields, just as I employ a diversity of research methods.

The use of ethnographic and discourse methods strengthens the study of language learning as a global phenomenon in two ways. First, the focus on local practices that is essential to both ethnography and socially-oriented discourse analysis protects against totalizing views of languages as reified global commodities. As described in Chapter 1, top-down views of English as either a homogenizing force in globalization or a heterogeneous set of national varieties miss the specific practices of individual language users that constitute the language (Pennycook 2003b, Bucholtz and Hall 2008). Instead, both global languages and the practices seen to constitute globalization need to be viewed in terms of their everyday constitution and reproduction. Second, these practices need to be understood as both culturally situated and interactionally achieved.

Individuals understand and experience the social world through interaction with others. Close analysis of discourse allows us to observe how this understanding is built. At the same time, since this understanding is built up over the course of entire lifetimes, ethnographic observation is necessary to allow the analyst to grasp the knowledge that social actors display to one another (Hall 2009). The combination of methods employed here illuminates how members of Hippo Family Club come to understand themselves as active participants in a global organization.

Ideologies of language at Hippo Family Club
"Language is something that is born and nurtured between people."
(track 12, *Anyone Can Speak 7 Languages!*)

3.1. *Hajime ni* (Introduction)

On some trains in Japan, there are video monitors above the doors that display the train schedule, the next stop, and other information. In between stops, however, these monitors display advertisements for various products. Several times while I was riding the train around Yokohama I watched a video advertisement for a company called Gaba Eikaiwa. The *eikaiwa* (English conversation) industry is a huge commercial undertaking, with companies competing all over Japan to attract students. According to Philip Seargeant (2006) the industry attracts students of all ages from all segments of society through heavy advertising, grossing hundreds of billions of yen in total sales.

I was struck by Gaba Eikaiwa's advertisement on the train. The video, which changes from day to day, usually 'teaches' English by giving an explanation, in Japanese, of the difference between two English words. For example, a segment I watched several times compares the prepositions *to* and *through*. (Since trains are noisy places, the medium is essentially visual, presenting both images and text.) First, the segment gives translations of each word: "to: *made*; through: *o tooshite*." Then it describes in a few sentences of Japanese how each preposition should be used, and finally presents several exercises. "The package was sent ___ the client. The package went ___ customs." etc. The entire presentation lasts about three minutes. One of the things that is interesting about the advertisement is its resemblance to the grammar-translation

method of foreign language learning, an approach that is not only disfavored by many contemporary educators (Omaggio Hadley 2001) but also deprecated in the advertising of many *eikaiwa* (Seargeant 2006).[10]

The description of English grammar in Japanese reminded me of an experience I had a decade earlier in Hiroshima prefecture when I was asked to be a substitute assistant teacher at a local junior high school. At the time I was teaching English to executives at a local manufacturing company that wanted its staff to be able to communicate with international clients. My acquaintance, an assistant teacher at a private junior high, needed someone to fill in for him one day, and assured me that I didn't need to do any lesson preparation. As it turned out, the job did not involve any actual teaching on my part. Rather, the classroom teacher lectured in Japanese for the better part of an hour on some aspect of English grammar – I have forgotten precisely what – during which time my job was to read aloud several example sentences from the textbook. I understood that I had not been offered the job due to my teaching ability; rather, it was due to aspects of my identity, specifically my perceived 'authenticity' as an English-speaking American (compare Duff and Uchida 1997, Seargeant 2006). In this classroom, at least, the assistant teacher seemed to function to authenticate the international character of English lessons, while their pedagogical value was in the Japanese speaking teacher's grammar description and the workbook exercises the students carried out while he spoke.

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[10]   The videos do, however, feature another visual icon that Seargeant (2006) suggests is an important selling point for other *eikaiwa*: attractive Caucasian teachers.

These experiences reflect a traditional view of language learning in Japan. In this view, language is seen as something similar to inorganic chemistry or Newtonian physics: a world of interacting elements that follow particular rules or laws in their interactions. Just as the way to learn chemistry is to memorize the elements of the periodic table and to understand stoichiometry, the way to learn English is to memorize a list of words and to understand grammar, in the sense of rules governing the interaction of linguistic elements. I will call this understanding of language, and the approach to language learning that grows out of it, the ideology of *language as physics*. This view contrasts with the understanding of language learning visible in Hippo Family Club discourse, which I will call *language as script*. Where the language-as-physics ideology highlights the learning of pedagogical grammar models as an academic goal in its own right, the language-as-script ideology sets as the goal of language study the reproduction of particular utterances.

The different approaches to language learning in Japanese schools and in Hippo Family Club are based on different understandings of the function of language in society. In the former case, language, and especially grammar, is seen as a form of scholastic knowledge and a key to access further academic and economic opportunity. In the latter case, languages are seen as sets of practices, sets of utterance, which bind their speakers to one another. Members of Hippo Family Club see their own multilingualism, with its binding force, as their key to a cosmopolitan realm of interlinked communities.

In this chapter I will argue that the language-as-script understanding is the ideological key that promotes both Hippo Family Club's pursuit of multilingualism in globally dominant languages, and its understanding of cosmopolitan citizenship as a break from Japanese notions of individual identity rooted in the nation. In section 3.2 I will review some past work on ideologies of language and language learning. The current dissertation differs from work in linguistic anthropology that focuses on ideologies of language structures or of the place of language varieties in society. Instead, I am primarily concerned with ideologies of language learning. Although understandings of the function and the nature of languages have important effects on approaches to language learning, the ideological construction of what learning is and how it occurs is central to the discussion here (compare Heath 1977, 1982). Similarly important for the current work are discourses of monolingualism in the nation-state, against which Hippo's view of multilingualism may be seen as a reaction. Therefore, section 3.2 also discusses twentieth century discourses in Japan connecting language, ethnicity, and nationalism, and the contemporary ideas of language and national identity that succeed them.

In section 3.3 I return to a discussion of the educational practices that grow out of these understandings of language learning. After a brief description of English language classes in Japanese schools, I turn to Hippo Family Club's critique of the traditional approach to foreign language learning. Hippo members draw on discussions of first- and second-language acquisition to argue that the dominant approach in Japanese schools is unnatural and ineffective. Curiously, while the Hippo

Family Club approach to language learning seems to draw on innatist theories of language acquisition (e.g. Chomsky 1972, Lenneberg 2004), at times members' descriptions recall interactional theories that challenge this view of language as innate (e.g. Ochs and Schieffelin 1984, Tomaselo 2003). I conclude that, regardless of the match between their understanding and those of scientists or language educators, Hippo's approach to language learning has generally positive effects on learning outcomes.

Finally, section 3.4 analyzes a spoken discourse from a Hippo Family Club meeting in Osaka in 2006. During a weekly meeting, several members of Karagoku Family help five-year-old Taro-kun construct a self-introduction in English. Despite contributions from several speakers, the speech event is treated as though it were a monologue delivered to the group from Taro-kun. In addition, although I was the only native speaker of English present, the members of the club treated me not as a possible interlocutor but as a passive audience for Taro-kun's performance. I argue that this behavior reveals the club members' understanding of language not as a capacity for the interactive creation of conversations or the exchange of ideas, but as a set of utterances to be memorized and deployed in order to achieve social positioning.

3.2. Ideologies of language and learning

The understanding of *ideology* in this dissertation is not that of a form of false consciousness (Marx 1968) that blinds language learners or language users to the true nature of their subject. Both the understandings of traditional Japanese education that

I describe as the language-as-physics ideology and the Hippo Family Club view that I call the language-as-script ideology have significant overlap with the descriptions of the nature of language in linguistics, psychology, and other scientific approaches. By using the term *ideology* I intend only to describe systems of beliefs about the nature of language, and specifically the beliefs that underlie approaches to second language learning.

The notion of *ideology* has a long history in social science. In her introduction to studies of ideology, Kathryn Woolard (1998) traces the term to French Enlightenment philosopher Antoine Destutt de Tracy. His *Eléments d'idéologie*, published around 1818, attempted to lay out a "science of ideas." Destutt de Tracy's *idéologie* was famously attacked by Napoleon Bonaparte, who saw the abstract, rationalist science as divorced from social and material reality, and whose use of the term contributed to the definition of *ideology* as "Ideal or abstract speculation; in a depreciatory sense, unpractical or visionary theorizing or speculation" (Oxford English Dictionary 1989). Napoleon's disparaging usage relates to Marx's notion of ideology as false consciousness, blinding individuals to economic reality (Marx 1968).

Woolard suggests, "The great divide in studies of ideology lies between neutral and negative values of the term" (1998: 7). Critical or negative analyses focus on the links between systems of ideology and the arrangements of social, political, and economic power that support them. Neutral or descriptive conceptions of ideology apply the term to any view of the world from a particular social position.

Judith Irvine and Susan Gal (2000), for example, note the effects of social and political assumptions on nineteenth century European linguists' failure to accurately describe the relationships among the Senegal group of Niger-Congo languages. Starting from the Enlightenment ideology that each nation has its own language, these linguists reasoned that Fula, Sereer, and Wolof must belong to distinct national groups and tried to draw geographical boundaries between them, ignoring the fact that individual speakers commanded multiple varieties, typically using Fula in talk associated with Islam and Wolof in commercial trade. In contrast, Michael Silverstein's (1979) description of native speakers' attempts to rationalize the content of certain semantic categories, such as mass versus count nouns, in terms of their referents, considers a politically neutral language ideology. Silverstein points out that language users' rationalizations sometimes concur with the theories developed by linguists and sometimes differ; in any case, the fact that such beliefs are not scientific does not make them "incorrect or contemptible" (1979:193).

The term *language ideology* as it is used in the current work has a neutral sense, without regard for the nature of the fit between users' understandings of language and any objective state of affairs. Indeed, just as Silverstein (1979) suggests that folk beliefs about language are not necessarily incorrect, we should not assume that linguists' understandings of language are necessarily correct. Irvine and Gal point out that the scientific classification of African languages in the nineteenth century was quite different from the current state of the art for reasons linked to linguists' ideologies. In addition, Deborah Cameron (1990) points out that variationist

sociolinguistics, in its attempt to overthrow the ideology of the ideal speaker-listener (Chomsky 1972), in turn promotes an image of social structure as a static edifice reflected in linguistic variation rather than created (in part) by language use. Neither careful empiricism nor elegant theorizing negates the fact that linguistics itself is a description of language as we believe it to exist – in other words, a language ideology in Silverstein's (1979) sense. I have tried to keep this point in mind when analyzing the beliefs of others, especially when the differ from my own.

The particular ideologies that are of interest here are those that underlie or otherwise affect second language learning. Shirley Brice Heath (1977) offers a particularly insightful explanation of the effect that contrasting ideologies can have on language education and on language planning in general. She points out that policy makers and the individuals toward whom language policy is aimed often hold different ideologies about the place of language in social life. Heath describes two approaches to bilingual education that rest on different ideologies about the role of language education: a *cultivation approach* (1977: 54), in which the purpose of bilingual education is seen as the provision of additional linguistic resources, is based on an historical view of language learning as a means to broaden intellectual discipline. In contrast is a *policy approach* (1977: 54), in which bilingual education is seen as a duty to bring the culturally and linguistically different into line with the majority. Heath proposes that language policy should proceed from an understanding of the language ideologies held by individuals who are the target of legal interventions, and an understanding of how these may differ from the ideologies held

by policy makers. In the absence of such appreciation, language planning will not serve the needs of those at whom it is directed, and its implementation will be ignored or resisted.

Heath's (1982) work on ideologies of literacy and their effects on elementary education lends additional theoretical support to the current work. By analyzing the reading and story-telling routines in two working-class enclaves, one white and one black, Heath shows how the norms of classroom interaction are closely modeled on the expectations of a middle-class childhood. While the technologies of literacy, such as books and the written alphabet, were common in the working-class white homes Heath observed, reading was treated as a monologic event in which young children were to listen quietly as adults or older children read to them. This habituation to experiencing literacy passively and quietly appeared to serve the children well in early grades where the teachers' primary goals were classroom management, but in later grades the children proved inadequate to the task of responding creatively to classroom prompts. On the other hand, the working-class black children, who grew up in an interactive environment of creative storytelling and joking, might have been suited to the demands of these later grades, except for the fact that they came to school without the same training in adapting their behavior to the demands of the teacher. For this reason, most of the working-class black children were deemed to be uncooperative or poor learners before they reached the later grades. Both children from the white and the black neighborhoods contrasted with middle-class children, whose upbringing most resembled that of their teachers. These children arrived in

school with both the skills and the expectations required to succeed. Heath argues that teacher's ideologies as well as children's practices and early socialization have crucial effects on educational outcomes.

While Heath's work on language planning and literacy education provides theoretical background for understanding Hippo Family Club ideologies around second language learning, that work is based in the United States. It will therefore be necessary to examine some of the ideologies around language and nationality in Japan, against which Hippo practices may be seen as reactions. I will therefore briefly review some of this work.

Communication scholars and foreign language educators have noted that Japanese people who study English as a foreign language usually do not speak the language, even if they can understand spoken English, and read and write it well. Two primary reasons are suggested for this reluctance or inability to speak: the way that English is taught in Japanese schools (Lincicome 1993, Gudykunst and Nishida 1994, Butler 2005, Butler and Iino 2005), and ideologies surrounding the relationship between the Japanese language and Japanese identity (Gudykunst and Nishida 1994, Yamada 1997, Downes 2001, Gottlieb 2005).

English language lessons in Japanese schools tend to put a heavy emphasis on the mastery of pedagogical grammars. As was mentioned in section 3.1, although the grammar-translation method of foreign language teaching is no longer advocated, elements reminiscent of the practice are still visible in junior high school classrooms. Classes are conducted in Japanese, with the grammatical rules of English described in

Japanese.[11] Lists of words and grammatical rules are memorized, and success is judged via written tests.

The style of English language learning in Japanese classrooms may discourage students from speaking in two ways. First, the emphasis on written, rather than spoken production in classes and on tests gives students no instrumental motivation to speak the language. In addition, attention to accuracy in testing may make students uneasy to produce the language around others if they judge their own production to be insufficient. We shall return to discussion of foreign language learning in Japanese classrooms in section 3.3, where we will examine Hippo Family Club's critique of 'traditional' language learning methods.

Ideologies of Japanese language and identity are another factor said to inhibit individuals from speaking English or other foreign languages. Discourses of identity in Japan – discussions of what it means to be a Japanese person – often highlight speaking Japanese as an essential quality. According to Simon Downes (2001), parents express reluctance to send their children to a bilingual junior high school offering partial English immersion, citing, in addition to academic concerns, a fear that their children would lose their sense of Japanese cultural identity after gaining fluency in English. Although the school teaches the same Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-approved curriculum that other Japanese junior high schools use, with texts translated into English from Japanese originals, and aims to prepare students for admission to elite universities, many parents are

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[11]   In the classical grammar-translation method, students would translate texts from the target language, usually Latin or Greek, into their native language. I have not seen this practice in Japanese classrooms.

reluctant to enroll their children. By administering questionnaires designed to elicit parents' attitudes about cultural identity, Japan, and the West, Downes finds that parents express generally positive attitudes about Western cultures, Western people, and the English language. Yet these parents believe that becoming bilingual will cause their children to be "less Japanese" (Downes 2001: 177).

There is a long history in Japan of popular and scholarly discussions of what makes the Japanese people unique. John Maher (2001) suggests that beliefs in Japanese uniqueness emerged after the closing of the state's borders during the Tokugawa shogunate, starting in the seventeenth century. More commonly, scholars date such discourses from the growth of nationalism during the Meiji period[12] (e.g. Inoue 2006, Lincicome 2009). Discourses of cultural uniqueness and nationalism recur throughout the twentieth century, informing both pre-war militarism and post-occupation reforms of education and government (McVeigh 1998, Lincicome 2009).

Roy Andrew Miller (1982) notes that ideologies about Japanese uniqueness and the uniqueness of the Japanese language were a key aspect of late-twentieth century nationalist discourses known as *nihonjinron* (theories of the Japanese people). Such discourses, most popular during the 1960s and 1970s, equated Japanese nationality with culture and ethnicity (Sugimoto 1999), and sought to describe what makes the Japanese people unique. While such discourses have always been contested as problematic essentialism, the line of thought is visible in late twentieth century

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[12] I refer to periods of recent Japanese history using the era name associated with the ruling emperor: Meiji (1868-1912), Taishō (1912-1926), and Shōwa (1926-1989). The current period is the Heisei period.

government documents and scholarly publications,[13] and especially in popular

nonfiction. Alongside descriptions of the "vertical structure" of Japanese social

institutions (Nakane 1970) and norms of interdependence (Doi 1973), *nihonjinron*

literature featured speculation about the structure of the Japanese language and its

connection to "the essence of the Japanese spirit" (Gottlieb 2005).

While *nihonjinron* was primarily a twentieth-century intellectual fashion,

many contemporary discourses similarly view Japan as a monolingual nation-state.

This ignores not only the long history of low-level immigration and trade with

neighboring states, but also the presence of indigenous language minorities within the

current borders of the state, such as the Ainu in the north and the Ryukyu in the south

(Maher and Yashiro 1995, Maher 1997, Gottlieb 2005, inter alia). Similarly erased

within the discourse of the monolingual state are Korean and Chinese minorities

whose presence is a legacy of twentieth century colonialism (Maher 1995, Gottlieb

2005), Southeast Asian minorities who arrived as refugees (Kanno 2008), and

Portuguese and Spanish speakers who have recently arrived from South America as a

result of return migration (Linger 2001, Maher 2002).[14] A related belief, that the truest

citizen of the monolingual nation-state is a monolingual individual, may serve to

bolster the position of political elites (Maher 2001) while finding consonance with the

dominant ideology of language and identity in contemporary Japan.

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[13]   Carroll quotes a Ministry of Education paper from 1950 that describes "our national language
which may be called the incarnation of our nation's spirit" (1997:18). See also Gottlieb (2005), who
suggests that the *nihonjinron*-inspired view of the Japanese language was a robust twentieth century
discourse, but that it is disappearing in the twenty-first.

[14]   *Return migration* refers to the migration of ethnic Japanese to Japan from abroad, especially from
South America. See Linger (2001) for discussion of return migrants from Brazil.

Haru Yamada (1997), a Japanese-born scholar who attended Georgetown University in the United States, describes contemporary Japanese attitudes about language and monolingualism. Yamada summarizes a belief she attributes to her Japanese coworkers: "You are Japanese because you speak Japanese, and if you speak Japanese, you do not – indeed you cannot – speak a foreign language fluently" (1997:140). Yamada was regarded by her colleagues in Tokyo as less than truly Japanese because she spoke English. She further suggests that her coworkers related this language ability not so much to her having lived in the United States but to having eaten hamburgers and therefore internalized a foreign identity (1997:140).

Contemporary discourses of Japan as a monolingual nation-state and of monolingual individuals as authentically Japanese may be seen as continuations of twentieth century nationalist ideologies, and possibly of ideas dating from the Edo period (c. 1603-1868) or earlier. These discourses, in which monolingualism is seen as an index of Japanese identity, have two effects on language education in Japan. First, they serve to rationalize the failure of Japanese students to speak foreign languages in spite of years of study by linking monolingualism with authentic Japanese identity. Second, since they place speaking languages other than Japanese beyond the abilities of the typical student, they encourage an approach to foreign language learning that is not centered on speech. Instead, the language-as-physics approach, in which language study is based on the analysis of pedagogical grammars, becomes a proper substitute.

Hippo Family Club espouses an approach that is contrary and perhaps resistant to dominant discourses of foreign language learning in Japan. Hippo sees languages not primarily from the perspective of grammar as rule governed behavior, but as sets of locally appropriate utterances. In the next section we will explore Hippo Family Club discussions of language as script, particularly as they contrast Hippo activities from schools and other 'traditional' learning practices.

3.3. Hippo ideologies of language learning

As described in section 3.1, dominant educational discourses in Japan belie a view of language learning as essentially similar to the learning of other academic subjects, particularly the natural sciences. I am calling this view the *language-as-physics* ideology since, like the teaching of physics at the secondary school level, it pays particular attention to scientific models with relatively little concern for application. Although I cannot claim that my experiences are representative of educational practice in Japan, in the junior high schools and high schools that I observed, English was taught daily, but oral communication – speaking and listening to English – was practiced only once per week and was not usually tested. The lack of testing in oral communication and the emphasis on testing in other areas of the curriculum seemed to suggest that speech was a non-essential element of foreign language study.

Based on published accounts, there is reason to expect that my observations are not out of line with norms in Japanese schools. All junior high schools and high schools in Japan teach English according to national curriculum guidelines set out by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) (Butler

& Iino 2005). In addition, nearly all high school and college entrance examinations test English reading and grammar knowledge (Butler & Iino 2005). As a result, most Japanese people are obliged to learn English.[15] Learning English, however, does not necessarily entail speaking English. For many people, the goal appears to be simply to understand the pedagogical grammar of English in order to pass entrance exams.

In the language-as-physics understanding, the elements of language – corresponding roughly to words and affixes – are analogous to elementary particles. Grammar, then, is analogous to physical laws, which determine how elements interact. Again, an understanding of language as a set of elements whose interaction is described by grammatical rules is not wrong – indeed, it is essentially the understanding developed by Bloomfield, Jespersen, Mathesius and other founders of the discipline of linguistics (Van Valin & La Polla 1997). The direct application of such meta-linguistic understanding to foreign-language learning is, however, not without controversy.

Some applied linguists and language teachers suggest that explicit grammar teaching is advantageous to learners, while others suggest that a focus on grammatical rules has no particular positive effects on language learning and may even affect learners negatively. Those who favor grammar teaching suggest that a focus on grammatical form results in faster acquisition of a second language, particularly in the acquisition of relatively simple grammatical structures (Ellis 2002). Explicit grammar teaching is also supported by the theory, derived from rationalist linguistic theory, that

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[15]   According to Butler & Iino, 97% of Japanese adolescents attend high school, even though attendance is not compulsory. Additionally, approximately 50% of high school graduates pursue higher education.

mastery of pedagogical grammar provides students with a foundation of competence parallel to native speakers' grammatical competence (Omaggio Hadley 2001). In opposition to this view, other scholars point out that the actual rules of grammar are a deep form of implicit knowledge which competent speakers are not able to access directly. Pedagogical grammars, therefore, are a theoretical description of linguistic competence, not competence itself. Furthermore, studies have generally found that teaching grammatical rules in isolation has no positive effect on language ability (Omaggio Hadley 2001). Therefore, even the most grammar-positive advocates typically do not suggest that grammar should be taught without consideration of communication and usage. Even a mixed approach, combining communicative and formalist elements, can have mixed results, though. In my own experience studying the Japanese language with such a mixed approach, for instance, the ease with which I was able to carry out grammar exercises contributed nothing to my personal goals of more fluent speaking, listening, and reading. The realization of this disconnect led to considerable frustration with classroom activities.

Hippo Family Club's position on language learning can be seen as a reaction against two sets of discourses: discourses linking Japanese identity to monolingualism, as described in section 3.2, and late-twentieth century debates over foreign language teaching methods. Hippo Family Club was founded in 1981 by Yo Sakakibara, a progressive English teacher, and several of his colleagues in Tokyo. The goal of the Hippo founders was to encourage the learning of multiple languages in order to subvert the monolingual ideology described above, which had negative

consequences for language learners. They developed the Hippo methods against a tumultuous background in discussions of second language pedagogy. By the time they began their work the *audio-lingual method* had been largely discredited, while the *communicative approach* was still in its nascent stages.

The audio-lingual method was a popular approach to foreign language teaching in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. Based on theories from behaviorism in psychology and American structuralist linguistics, the audio-lingual method stressed observation, repetition, and positive reinforcement. Students would listen to target conversations in the classroom and then repeat them; correct recall and pronunciation were positively reinforced, and errors were negatively reinforced (Omaggio Hadley 2001). Similar behaviorist-based methods were employed in France and the former French colonies during the 1960s (Decoo 2001). By the 1970s, though, behaviorism had been largely discredited as an approach to language acquisition (Chomsky 1959), and the audio-lingual method was essentially abandoned in foreign-language classrooms (Decoo 2001).

After the demise of the audio-lingual methods, there would not be another similarly widely adopted method until the 1980s. That new method, called the communicative approach, stressed language learning via communicative interaction. It generally eschewed discussion of grammar, preferring instead model interactions appropriate to the target language. While the communicative approach would be commonly used in foreign language classrooms during the 1980s, it was not yet widely know in the 1970s (Decoo 2001).

At the time that Hippo Family Club emerged, then, there was no single widely-used approach to foreign language teaching and learning, either in Japan or in the United States, where Sakakibara had studied. Instead, classroom practice was characterized by experimentation with diverse methods and practices. It is into this "bubbling, diverse, often ill-defined" world of foreign-language teaching (Decoo 2001) that Hippo Family Club emerged. The practices that Hippo adopted bear some resemblance to the audio-lingual method, such as the use of repetition, and some resemblance to the communicative approach, particularly in the embrace of communication among learners and the rejection of grammatical models.

Contemporary Hippo Family Club discourses – those expressed in learning materials, advertisements, etc. – reject what they label the 'traditional' method of language learning. The English version of the main LEX Institute website calls the "traditional classroom" ineffective, and suggests that the focus on grammar and vocabulary that characterizes such classes is futile or somehow inappropriate.

> Our research shows that anyone, at any age, can acquire new languages. Unfortunately, the way most people usually attempt to learn a language, in a traditional classroom, does not provide a conducive setting for language acquisition. Infants don't learn their native language by breaking the language down into little pieces of grammar and vocabulary, or by looking in a dictionary, so why should a child or adult learn other languages that way either? (LEX Institute 2007)

The "traditional classroom" is implicitly compared to Hippo methods. According to the paragraph prior to the one quoted here, "HIPPO Family Club has been investigating this natural language acquisition process" by which children acquire

their first language. Thus, the Hippo method is presumed to be natural, while other methods are not.

Another opposition between Hippo learning and the traditional classroom is in arrangements of status and power. The LEX CD *Anyone Can Speak 7 Languages* features short essays about Hippo Family Club written by club members and translated into various languages (Hippo Family Club 1997). The track "No Classes, No Teachers, No Tests!" includes a club member's comparison of her children playing in a park with her own experience in school. According to the essay, the member was initially surprised to see "blond-haired, blue-eyed children" speaking Japanese while playing in a Tokyo park. On reflection, she reasoned that the children must have acquired Japanese while playing with Japanese-speaking children, and suggests that Hippo Family Club approximates such second-language acquisition.

> In the park, there were no language study corners for
> "Lesson 1" and "Lesson 2," no curriculum, no division
> of class according to ability. And of course, there was
> no teacher, no tests, and no need to worry about
> mistakes. There was only the desire to join with favorite
> friends to build a community. The children did not
> concern themselves with skin color, or differences
> between countries. (Hippo Family Club 1997)

This essay echoes the message that traditional learning differs from the natural process of language acquisition, here focusing on second-language acquisition. The essay also resonates with a notion frequently mentioned by Hippo Family Club members: Hippo has no teachers, and all members are equals.

In official club materials and in the testimony of club members, a set of oppositions appears between school and other 'traditional' activities versus Hippo

activities. Table 3.1 summarizes these oppositions. In materials produced by LEX Institute, the style of learning used in Hippo Family Club is regularly contrasted with 'traditional' learning methods. Implicitly, then, Hippo activities must be innovative or new, in opposition to methods used elsewhere. While the word 'tradition' does not necessarily hold negative connotations, these discourses go on to characterize the traditional approach negatively, as in the example quoted above where it is argued that traditional methods are not "a conducive setting for language acquisition" (LEX Institute 2007). This reference to "acquisition," along with frequent descriptions of

School activities	Hippo activities
"traditional"	*innovative*
artificial	"natural"
"grammar and vocabulary" based	*utterance based*
atomistic "breaking the language down"	*holistic* "from the whole"
teacher-centered	*learner-centered* "no teachers"
authoritarian	*egalitarian*
learners divided by ability	*learners united*
high-pressure	*low-stress* "no need to worry"
"not conducive for language acquisition"	*(presumed) effective*
serious	*fun*

Table 3.1. Comparison of school activities with Hippo activities. Folk terms used by members or in club materials appear in quotation marks.

Hippo activities as "natural acquisition" based on research in "natural science,"[16] and of language acquisition as something that occurs in a "natural setting" (LEX Institute 2007), further implies that traditional foreign-language study is unnatural or artificial. This contrast does rely in part on the positive connotations of the word "natural" to build an understanding of Hippo activities as positive and superior to other approaches.

In addition to the positive connotations of natural learning, these discourses offer a description of traditional learning that is not only generally unappealing, but that places blame for any past failure to acquire foreign languages on teaching methods and the theories underlying them, rather than on the learner herself or himself. The methods that Hippo rejects are atomistic, "breaking the language down into little pieces of grammar and vocabulary" (LEX Institute 2007). In contrast, Hippo methods work "from the whole to the parts" and do not call upon the learner to analyze, memorize, synthesize, or otherwise engage in scholarly activities that may be associated with past academic failures. Teachers, too, are absent from the Hippo experience, and with them any opportunity for teacher-centered classes. Even classes are eschewed in favor of "Language Experience, Experiment & Exchange" (LEX Institute 2007), the expression from which LEX takes its name. This discourse of egalitarian, communal learning is presented as not only more effective than classroom learning, but also lower in stress and more fun. In all, the image that LEX and Hippo

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[16] "Natural science" in the sense that Hippo Family Club uses the term should not be confused with the division between natural and social sciences in western academic traditions. The term is defined in the foreword to the recording *Anyone can Speak 7 Languages!* "We call this process the natural acquisition of languages, but we have not really given much thought to what is so natural about it. What is nature doing? Searching for the answer to this question and discovering a language to describe it is the goal of natural science" (Hippo Family Club 1997).

materials present of learning based on an understanding of language as physics is

dreary and off-putting, while Hippo Family Club is drawn as an amusement as well as

a presumably effective means of language learning.

In contrast to the language-as-physics ideology that appears to underlie

English teaching in schools, Hippo Family Club members display a language-as-

script ideology. In this view, language is learned not via a system of cognitive or

pedagogical grammar, but via a set of texts to be learned and eventually assimilated.

One of the central activities of Hippo Family Club practice is listening to club

recordings. The most frequently used recordings present stories about the lives and

activities of Hippo Family Club members, which are translated and repeated in

multiple languages. As described in Chapter 1, members listen to these recordings

repeatedly, and eventually memorize their content. The point of all this listening is not

to focus on individual words or common patterns, nor is it expected that the listener

will come to any understanding of the grammatical rules underlying the languages

used.[17] The point of all this listening is not even to understand the plot of the stories

told, though of course members do come to know the stories well, and sometimes

allude to them when talking to other club members. Rather, LEX invites members to

participate with the instruction "*nami ni nottemiru*" (try to ride the wave), that is,

experience the overall pattern of speech sounds. "Without understanding the precise

meaning, enjoy the sounds – ride the wave of words" (LEX Institute 2007, my

translation). Similarly, during *metakatsu*, the activity in which members recite the

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[17]   At least, I heard no explicit talk about grammatical rules. Occasionally members would, however,
        offer impressionistic descriptions of particular languages, or make broad comparisons of sets of
        languages.

content of the CDs together in unison, the intent is to reproduce the *kotoba no nami* (wave of words) as it appears on the CDs. After repeated attempts, members reproduce the stories in the exact words that appear on the CDs, following the same accent and timing. During early stages, before the words have been learned, members mimic the general prosodic pattern of the CD tracks. The CDs thus constitute a set text to be internalized and reproduced.

This image of 'waves' commonly recurs in Hippo meta-discourse, that is, when Hippo members and officials talk about Hippo Family Club. On the LEX web page that encourages members to "ride the wave of words" there appears an image meant to illustrate the Hippo approach to language acquisition called "from the whole to the parts" (Figure 3.1). The text that accompanies the graph suggests that it is an abstract illustration of the developmental stages of first language acquisition.
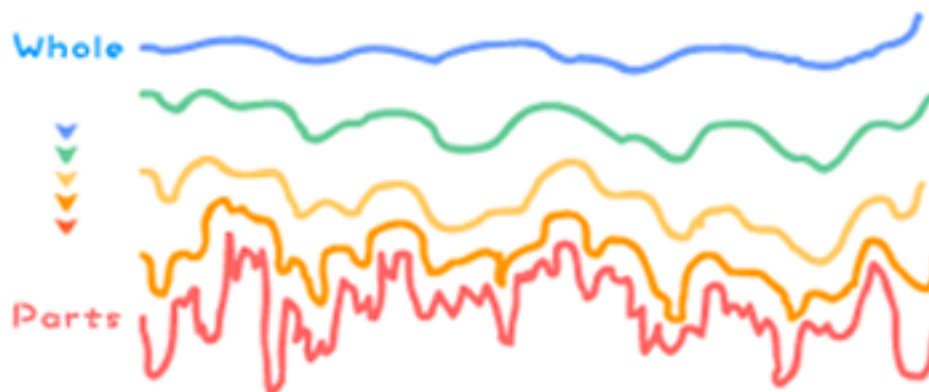
Figure 3.1. "From the whole to the parts" (LEX Institute 2007)

We call this natural process of language development
"from the whole to the parts." When babies babble in

baby-talk, they are mimicking the broadest outline of the language. Later, they begin to speak in phrases, but may only pronounce the sounds at the beginning and end of a phrase while humming through the rest. Eventually, they are able to be more precise in their sounds and phrases, until they become a mature speaker. (LEX Institute 2007, original emphasis)

The description of "babble" followed by "phrases" and eventual "mature [speech]" roughly accords with the descriptions of developmental stages in first language acquisition, as described by linguists and psychologists. Table 3.2, which condenses data from Lenneberg (2004), describes "babble" emerging in child language

At the completion of:	Vocalization and language
12 weeks	sounds usually called *cooing*, which is vowel like in character and pitch-modulated
16 weeks	responds to human sounds more definitely; occasionally some chuckling sounds
20 weeks	the vowel-like cooing sounds begin to be interspersed with more consonantal sounds
6 months	cooing changing into babbling resembling one-syllable utterances; most common utterances sound somewhat like ma, mu, da, or di
12 months	identical sound sequences are replicated... words (mamma or dadda) are emerging
18 months	has a definite repertoire of words; no attempt at communicating information
24 months	vocabulary of more than 50 items; begins spontaneously to join vocabulary items into two-word phrases
30 months	fastest increase in vocabulary; utterances have communicative intent; utterances consist of at least two words
3 years	about 80% of utterances are intelligible even to strangers; grammatical complexity of utterances is roughly that of colloquial adult language
4 years	language is well established; deviations from the adult norm are more in style than in grammar

Table 3.2. Developmental milestones in language development. Adapted from Lenneberg 2004.

production around six months, "two-word phrases" at 24 months, and speech resembling adult language after three years. The series of downward arrows along the left side of the LEX illustration suggests, albeit in a vague way, a progression through time parallel to that given by Lenneberg's increasing ages. Thus, on one level, it is possible to see the increasingly wavy lines, whose colors correspond to those of the arrows, as abstract depictions of increasingly complex or adult-like language production. At the same time, LEX prescribes its "from the whole to the parts" progression as an approach for adults as well as children to use in second-language learning. The abstract description of this progression seems to lead to a diversity of understandings among Hippo members.

Hippo Family Club chapters in Japan frequently hold what are called *kouenkai* (literally: public lecture meetings). These *kouenkai* are recruiting events during which club members describe LEX and Hippo and attempt to attract new members. At many of these *kouenkai* I have seen club members draw images very similar to the "From the whole to the parts" illustration on the LEX web site. What is interesting is the ways in which members' descriptions of the illustrations differ from that offered by LEX. Figure 3.2 shows an illustration very similar to the one included on the LEX web site. The drawing is from my own field notes; it is my reproduction of a hand-drawn picture shown at a *kouenkai* in Osaka. The original was in three colors: the broken line at the top in red, the wavy line at the bottom and the X-Y axes
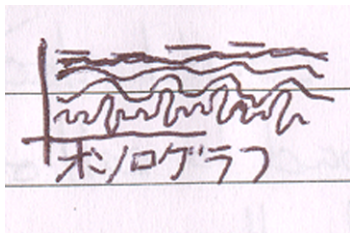
Figure 3.2. "Oscillograph" drawing from Osaka *koenkai*.

in black, and the intermediate lines in blue. Under the graph, also in black ink, is the

legend オシログラフ (oscillograph). At the *kouenkai* a 'fellow,' or chapter facilitator,

used the drawing in her lecture on the nature and effectiveness of Hippo activities. In

her lecture, she suggested that the red line illustrates babies' vocalizations, though

whether that meant crying or cooing was not clear. She did not explicitly describe

what the various blue lines were meant to illustrate, though she did suggest that the

lower black line described fully developed speech. It was not at all clear if she

understood this as an abstract illustration of the relative simplicity of early language

production, or if she thought the graph measured some actual physical oscillation.

The "oscillograph" legend that she wrote underneath it suggests the latter. Where the

LEX web site offered an abstract visualization of general observations, this member

used the same image to provide an air of scientific legitimacy and empirical

measurement to her persuasive speech.

At another *kouenkai*, also in Osaka prefecture, I noted a speaker who drew a

similar illustration by hand, and gave an even more intricate description of its

meaning.

> The member who did the *kouen* (public speech) drew the now-familiar 'waves' graph: a two-dimensional graph with a flat, broken line at the top, a regular sine wave of relatively small amplitude below that, and a slightly more complex but very regular wave of greater amplitude at the bottom. As usual, she said that the flat broken line represents baby's 「ギャー　ギャー」 [*gyaa gyaa*], the second the speech of toddlers, and the bottom adult (-like) speech. But then she went on to draw additional, slightly different sine waves overlapping the middle one and said that we each sometimes speak differently. (Field notes, 28 November 2008)

This speaker seemed to understand the wavy lines as abstract illustrations of increasing complexity, and not as instrumental measurements of sound waves or other oscillation. She also shared the understanding that this increasing complexity is a depiction of children's first language acquisition in general, as suggested on the LEX web site. What, though, is meant by the addition of similar sine waves overlapping the intermediate line in the illustration? My first thought was that she may actually have studied phonology and might be aware of something like allophonic variation. Hippo fellows tend to take a great interest in the study of academic topics related to language learning, and sometimes initiate study groups to read scholarly literature. The suggestion that all individual speakers speak differently at different times, however, suggests something more like style or register variation.[18]

I became even more uncertain of what the speaker was trying to illustrate when she labeled the y-axis with two legends. On the left side of the graph, she wrote *zero sai* (age zero), *ni sai* (age two), and *otona* (adult) next to the top, middle, and

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[18]   Although the speech was delivered in Japanese, my field notes are in English. Therefore, I cannot be certain of the actual wording that caused me to note, "[She] said that we each sometimes speak differently."

bottom lines, respectively. This would appear to reproduce the description of the graph as an illustration of the increasing complexity of first-language acquisition. In addition, though, the speaker labeled the top line with the Chinese character for *watashi* (myself) on the right-hand side. Next to the middle *ni sai* line she added the Chinese characters for *nakama* (group, circle of friends), and next to the bottom *otona* line she wrote the roman alphabetic characters *CD* (compact disc). While she was writing, she explained that the individual is in some way equivalent to a baby acquiring its first language, but she did not elaborate on this metaphor of equivalence. It is possible (though by no means certain) that she understood this to mean that new members of the club come with relatively little experience and knowledge of foreign languages. Or she may have meant that the individual gains linguistic ability via interaction with fellow members, a notion that seems to parallel interactional or usage-based theories of language acquisition (e.g. Ochs and Schieffelin 1984, Gass 2003, Tomaselo 2003). The equation of adult speech with LEX CDs parallels expressions that I have heard from other members to the effect that the native-speaker models these recordings provide are necessary as input to the language acquisition process. By labeling the middle line *nakama* she may have meant that interaction with other group members is necessary to develop linguistic competence, though it is also possible that she simply felt a need for some sort of visual symmetry. The speaker betrayed some unease with her own explanation by frequently turning away from the audience to regard her drawing as she spoke. After the meeting, she confessed to me

that she had been uncertain of her explanation and feared that she hadn't described the club activities properly.

Clearly, the "wave" illustration can be understood in various ways by club members. Furthermore, it seems that those understandings are as elusive and ineffable as they are variable. Where the LEX Institute web page seems to intend its drawing merely as a graphic illustration of the general pattern of first- and second language acquisition, in which the speaker's grammatical competence and linguistic output gradually become more complex, members seem to take the drawing as an index of scientific authority. The club fellow who labeled a similar drawing "oscillograph" may have believed that she was reproducing a discourse that relies on "researching the natural sciences of humans and language" (LEX Institute 2007), which LEX Institute suggests is the basis of Hippo practice. The club member who equated various elements of her drawing both with stages of first language acquisition and with elements of Hippo Family Club practice and membership seemed to have some idea that Hippo in some sense equivalent to first-language acquisition, yet clearly did not have a specific understanding of what this equivalency entails.

The idea of language as script is in some ways at odds with the notion of creativity as expressed, especially, in generative linguistics (e.g. Chomsky 1972), but also in subsequent descriptions of communicative competence (e.g. Hymes [1972] 2001) and the pedagogical models that derive from them (Omaggio Hadley 2001). Noam Chomsky (1972) defined creativity in language as the ability to generate a

potentially infinite set of linguistic structures from a finite set of grammatical properties. Del Hymes (2001) expanded this notion by first pointing out that human beings do not simply generate sets of linguistic structures, but adapt their language behavior to situations and interlocutors as necessary. Thus communicative competence consists not only of the ability to produce grammatical utterances (*creativity* in Chomsky's sense), but also of the ability to creatively adapt linguistic behavior to the needs of particular interactions. These notions of communicative competence and creative adaptation, in turn, inform communicative approaches to foreign language teaching and learning.

The approach to language learning in Hippo Family Club does not stress creativity in either the Chomskian or the Hymesian sense. Hippo activities treat languages as, in the first approximation, finite sets of utterances that can be memorized and repeated, without particular adaptation to the moment of speaking. Club members listen to the same CDs again and again, and exercise their content repeatedly at weekly meetings. In this way, they suggest, they will be able to produce appropriate responses to linguistic stimuli. This description is rather reminiscent of behaviorist theories of language acquisition from the first half of the twentieth century, and the Hippo method appears similar in some respects to the audio-lingual method of teaching described above as a popular approach to language learning from the second World War until the 1960s. Like audio-lingual-method teaching, Hippo recommends frequent repetition of patterns without explanation of grammar. Critics of the audio-lingual method suggest that it keeps learners at a novice level

indefinitely, since it does not call for any creative use of language, relying instead on repetition of previously memorized patterns (Omaggio Hadley 2001). Given that a frequently stated goal of Hippo Family Club members is basic-level communicative ability in a large number of languages, however, it is not surprising that few Hippo members see this as a serious disadvantage.[19]

Some understanding of the stance of such members is provided by an oft-told genre of story that I identify as the "surprised by competence" narrative. At a schematic level, this narrative has three basic components. First, the narrator describes listening intently to CDs and practicing *metakatsu*, or professes a special interest in a particular target language. Next, the narrator confesses that she or he did not believe that any real language ability was developing. Finally, however, the narrator describes an experience with the target language outside of weekly Hippo meetings, often during a trip abroad or while meeting a visitor to Japan from abroad. In this climax of the story, the narrator describes being surprised by his or her own ability to speak the language spontaneously in conversation with a native speaker. As more than one story teller put it, the sounds of the Hippo recordings had magically transformed themselves into the words of the target language within the learner's mind. One version of this "surprised by competence" narrative is included in the LEX recording *Anyone Can Speak 7 Languages!*

> Last summer, at my husband's insistence, I agreed to go
> to France on a homestay, but I dreaded the thought of it.
> For six months, I reluctantly played the French tapes

---

[19] Many members have a basic knowledge of as many as a dozen languages, though most members take a special interest in one or two languages, which they pursue more deeply.

> while endlessly saying to myself, "Je ne parle pas
> français." (I don't speak French.)
>
> [...]
>
> I was really surprised by my French. Although I had
> thought I couldn't speak at all, when I was actually
> compelled to go to France, I had no sense of any
> language barrier. The French spoken by my host family
> was very clear and I could understand them easily.
> (Hippo Family Club 1997)

Where this version of the narrative describes only passive language ability ("I could

understand them easily,") Hippo members have told me versions of their own

surprising competence in which they claim they were actually able to speak the target

language – though their reported utterances are generally confined to short phrases.

The "surprised by competence" narratives also illustrate other aspects of club

member's ideas about the club and their own language learning. For example, since

members often recount having believed that they would not gain the ability to speak a

particular language, we can conclude that language learning is not the only goal of

club members. If the purpose of joining Hippo Family Club were simply to gain

speaking ability, it is unlikely that members would persist in their intense

participation despite their disbelief in its effectiveness.[20] In addition, these narratives

frequently feature a coda suggesting that "the sounds became words" or that the

language had assembled within the speaker's mind without conscious effort or

control. Such suggestions echo the claims of "naturalness" described in LEX institute

materials, above.

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[20] Of course, it is also possible that members did not doubt their eventual success quite as
vehemently as their post hoc narratives suggest. Indeed, one function of these narratives may be to
convince fellow members or potential members of the effectiveness of Hippo activities.

The treatment of language as script, particularly the use of set texts in games, has some precedent in Japanese cultural practices. The game of *karuta* (cards) is thought to have been introduced to Japan by Portuguese visitors, probably in the mid sixteenth century (Bull 1996). Since gambling was outlawed during the Edo period (1603-1867), however, the form of the cards and the games played with them evolved rapidly. Another, older pastime still popular during the Edo period was reciting or copying the poems from the *Hyakunin Isshu* (One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each) anthology compiled by Fujiwara no Teika in the thirteenth century. An even older game, *kai-awase* (shell matching), was played by Japanese nobility during the Heian period (794-1185) with sets of clam shells on which pictures had been painted. The object of the game was to match two shells featuring the same image. The game of *uta-garuta* (poetry karuta) combines the traditions of *Hyakunin Isshu*, *kai-awase*, and *karuta* (Bull 1996). In the game, a reader recites the first half of one of the poems from *Hyakunin Isshu*, and the other players race to grab the card on which the second half of the poem is written.

I knew of *Hyakunin Isshu* before visiting Japan, but I was surprised while staying with a family in eastern Japan to see them playing *uta-garuta*. I was told that the family's older daughter, a first-year junior high school student, was required to memorize the *Hyakunin Isshu* and to play *karuta* at her *juku* (private cram school). Although such tasks appear to have gone in and out of fashion among Japanese educators, it is not so unusual to see *uta-garuta* assigned as a memorization task. Hippo Family Club and LEX Language Project similarly use forms of *karuta* games

to practice certain language structures, a practice that is especially common at LEX Language Project meetings in the US (see Chapter 4). Thus, the practice of learning by memorizing set texts, while not unanimously embraced, nonetheless has precedents in other Japanese educational activities.[21]

I have suggested in this chapter that the "language as physics" ideology, frequently seen in Japanese schools and *eikaiwa*, has some negative effects on language learning, particularly in the realm of negative affect. The focus on grammar study and testing does not have particularly positive effects on speaking ability, and the association of foreign language learning with high stakes testing, and the need for precise accuracy that such tests require discourage many foreign language learners from using their foreign language abilities in face-to-face interaction. Hippo Family Club, by treating language as play, avoid some of these negative feelings about speaking foreign languages, and may thus avoid raising affective filters (Krashen 1982).

The language-as-script orientation of Hippo Family Club members has the potential for both positive and negative effects on language learning. A primary advantage, as suggested above, stems from positive affect. Members regard Hippo activities as play or group social events, rather than describing them as study or work.

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[21]   I suggested, during a presentation of my work to Hippo club members in Yokohama, that *uta-garuta* constituted a particularly Japanese approach to learning. A member suggested that her children, who have participated in Hippo Family Club since they were very small, are very good at *uta-garuta*. She went on to suggest that, by the same token, they are very successful in auditioning for school plays, another school activity that requires memorizing texts. Of course, school plays are hardly unique to Japan. I also recalled having to memorize the Preamble to the United States Constitution in my own school days. I am thus reminded that the memorization of texts for educational or leisure purposes is not especially Japanese.

Members typically continue in the club for many years, allowing themselves far greater time for learning and development. It is also common for members to participate in a range of different activities under the general heading of "Hippo," including listening to recorded materials and participating in weekly meetings, as well as reading Hippo-related books or news letters, contributing to *kouenkai* or other special events, and either going abroad or hosting international visitors as part of the transnational homestay program. All of these are likely to contribute to incremental language learning.

Another positive effect of Hippo ideology is the description of the activity or subject as *tagengo* (multilingualism), as opposed to either a single target language or *gaikokugo* (literally: foreign-country language). While Hippo's discourse of egalitarianism may exaggerate members' actual behavior, in general club members seem positively disposed to interacting with foreign guests. Similarly, with the broad stock of high-frequency phrases the language-as-script orientation encourages members to memorize and repeat, they are often able – and quite keen – to communicate in a rudimentary way with people who do not speak Japanese or English. This willingness to use the target languages in order to communicate is very different from the uncertainty and apparent shyness that too often results from language learning that stresses accuracy.

On the other hand, by treating language as a set of texts, and emphasizing the importance of memorizing Hippo Family Club's own key texts, some members actually seem to lose sight of language's primary function as a medium of

communication.[22] This seems to be the case especially among young people who compete with one another to repeat the content of LEX CDs with great fluency or speed. For example, in 2006 I attended an event in Osaka in celebration of Hippo Family Club's twenty-fifth anniversary. There, among other demonstrations and testimonials, two young boys appeared on stage to show off their great facility with the Hippo recordings. The two spoke in unison, very rapidly and with little prosodic variation: "*mayfifteenthnineteen eightytwodearsonokohisonoko*" and so on. At first I struggled to figure out what language the boys were speaking, and was taken aback to realize that it was English, spoken in a way that communicated almost nothing to an English speaker beyond the boys' apparent pride in their own "fluency."[23] I am not convinced that this is a positive outcome, but am happy to note that it is not the most common one.

3.4. Seeing language as scripted

I have thus far argued that members of Hippo Family Club approach language learning from a particular ideological understanding that I am calling language-as-script. In this view, language is not seen in terms of grammatical competence as the cognitive ability to generate linguistic structures (Chomsky 1972). Nor is language viewed in terms of communicative competence as the means to interact through language behavior in culturally appropriate ways (Hymes 2001). Neither do members of Hippo Family Club treat language as a set of discourse practices acquired through

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[22] In this respect at least, both the "traditional" and the Hippo approach may produce a similar effect. By attending to the requirements of grammar testing, schools may also neglect communication.

[23] The boys' rapid-fire speech was based on the content of a Hippo tape: "May fifteenth, nineteen eight-two. Dear Sonoko. Hi Sonoko" (Hippo Family Club 1985).

socialization with which to achieve positioning in a society or group (Bourdieu 1977a). Rather, language-as-script treats language as a set of utterances to be internalized and reproduced. Members have little or no expectation that they will be able to produce novel utterances in response to an unfolding interaction, at least during the early stages of learning. Practice during Hippo Family Club meetings treats the fluent production of rote texts as a goal.

In this section, I will present discourse data from a weekly meeting of Karagoku Family in Osaka during the spring of 2006 that illustrates the language-as-script ideology. Through discourse analysis I will show that the goal of interaction during the meeting is the reproduction of a memorized speech. With help and extensive co-construction from other club members five-year-old Taro-kun introduces himself in English. Prompts and other contributions from members other than Taro-kun are not treated as relevant to the speech activity. Minimal responses in English are offered only after Taro-kun speaks. In addition, the treatment of a native speaker of English (me) as passive audience to the speech rather than a conversational participant illustrates the club orientation to language as a set of scripted utterances.

During weekly Hippo Family Club meetings, members frequently present speeches that are modeled on the recording *Hippo Goes Overseas* (Hippo Family Club 1985). In speeches called *jikoshokai* (self-introduction), members give their names, the names of their family members, a brief description of their home, and a list of interests. This content parallels track two of the recording, in which Janet Brown introduces herself (see Chapter 6).

In excerpt 3.1 Taro-kun begins his self-introduction. Note that Taro-kun's mother, Mikan, supplies nearly every phrase of the speech to Taro-kun before he repeats it to the other club members, who are sitting in a circle and listening to him. Mikan's speech is not treated as relevant to the activity, however, as is illustrated by the responses offered by another club member, Tanaka-papa. Tanaka-papa responds in English only after Taro-kun has spoken. Taro-kun's contributions are thus treated as appropriate turns in the furtherance of the speech activity, while Mikan's speech is ignored. (English words are transcribed in standard English orthography; Japanese words are transliterated in Roman alphabetic characters. Since excerpts 3.1 and 3.2 are primarily in English, Japanese words are glossed in double parenthesis, inside single quotation marks. Full translations are provided for excerpts 3.3 and 3.4, which are primarily in Japanese. Full transcription conventions are provided in Appendix A.)

3.1. Taro-kun (1) (8 April 2006)

```
 8  Taro          [Please call me Taro-kun.
 9  all     TARO-KUN.
10  Taro    Thank you. (1.2) ((looks at Mikan))
11  Mikan   °my family members°
12  Taro    My family member, father, mother, (0.8) ((looks at Mikan))
13  ((Mikan points to Yuu-chan))
14  Taro    sister Yuuko, (2.8)
15  ((Mikan points to Taro-kun's chest))
16  Mikan   °I°
17  Taro    and I.
18  Tanaka  yeah=
19  Sky     =yeah
20  (7.4)((Taro-kun faces Mikan. She appears to whisper something to
        him. Taro-kun faces the center of the circle to speak.))
21  Taro    I live in ((turns to Mikan))
22  Mikan   °K-- city°
23  Taro    K-- city,
24  Tanaka  °yeah°
25  ((Taro-kun turns toward Mikan.))
26  Mikan   K-- cho ((name of the district))
27  ((Taro-kun faces into circle.))
28  Taro    >K-- cho<
```

```
29  Tanaka  cho    (('district'))
30  ((Taro-kun turns toward Mikan. He continues to face her during his
    next turn.))
31  Mikan   °near°
32  Taro    near
33  Mikan   °makudonarudo° (('McDonalds restaurant'))
34  ((Taro-kun faces into circle.))
35  Taro    makudonarudo
36  Tanaka  y(h)eah
```

Since Taro-kun's speech is in the genre of *jikoshokai*, it is expected to follow a standard script. This includes the speaker's name (line 8), a list of his family members (lines 11-17) and a brief description of his home (lines 21-35). Tanaka-papa, an adult member of the club, offers minimal responses in English only after Taro-kun has completed an element of this script (lines 18, 24, and 36). Likewise, the chorus of voices saying "Taro-kun" in response to his request to be called by his club nickname (lines 8-9) is a standard part of this speech genre during Hippo meetings.

While Tanaka-papa's responses treat Taro-kun's utterances as relevant, there is no response from Tanaka-papa or others to Mikan's prompts, which help Taro-kun to produce his next line. During this interaction, Taro-kun is sitting on Mikan's lap. He frequently turns to her and she whispers the next words of his speech, which he then repeats into a microphone (lines 12, 17, 21, 23, 28, 32, and 35). Although Mikan speaks repeatedly during this exchange (lines 11, 16, 22, 26, 31, and 33), no response is offered until Taro-kun has spoken. Thus, Taro-kun's speech is treated as on-the-record speech in furtherance of the self-introduction, while Mikan's contributions are treated as back-stage prompts, not part of the on-going activity.

Excerpt 3.2 continues Taro-kun's self-introduction. The content of the *jikoshokai* conforms to the standard script for this speech genre. Other members of

the club know what to expect, thanks both to genre conventions and to the fact that

Taro-kun has delivered essentially the same speech every week for the past several

months. In excerpt 3.2, however, Taro-kun and Mikan attempt to elaborate the speech

somewhat from that given in weeks past. The addition of a new element, and a slight

recall problem in its production occasion a negotiation over the content of the speech.

Excerpt 3.2. Taro-kun (2) (8 April 2006)
```
41   Taro     ((faces into circle)) I like Thomas.
42   Tanaka   yeah
43   Ryo      °yeah°
44   Taro     hhh And. ((Turns to Mikan))
45   Mikan    °nandattake. kousaku.° (('What do you call it?
              "Handicrafts"?'))
46   ((Mikan and Taro-kun both look toward Sky.))
47   Sky      °I want to go. I want to go°
48   Mikan    °suki na koto. kousaku.° (('What he likes. Handicrafts.'))
49   Sky      kousaku. [hand craft
50   Oto              [(unintelligible sing-song)
51   Kamachan (sou yo ne) ((to Oto-chan)) (('That's right.'))
52   Mikan    °hand craft°
53   ((Taro-kun faces into circle.))
54   Oto      (onaka ga [suita)  (('I'm hungry.'))
55   Taro               [hand craft.
56   Tanaka   yeah.
57   ((Taro-kun faces Mikan.))
58   Oto      (ah darui na)  (('Oh I'm sleepy.'))
59   Mikan    °I want [to go.°
60   Kamachan        [(otoire) ((to Oto-chan)) (('toilet'))
61   Taro     I want [to m-[
62   Sky             [(go) England
63   Taro     [I want to meet England
64   Oto      [(unintelligible; high pitch)
65   ((Mikan smiles and nods))
66   Tanaka   yeah. why. [why- hh
67   Sky                 [I want
68   Oto      onaka ga suita  (('I'm hungry.'))
69   Kamachan shh. °mata [(hanashi chu)° (('He's still speaking.'))
70   Taro             [I want to meet Thomas.
71   Tanaka   yeah. hhh
```

During weeks past, after describing his home Taro-kun has described his

interests by saying, "I like Thomas. I want to go to England. I want to meet Thomas,"

in reference to the British cartoon *Thomas the Tank Engine*, which was popular in Japan at the time. This week, though, he has decided to list two of his interests: watching Thomas and creating handicrafts. When neither Taro-kun or Mikan can remember the English word 'handicrafts,' however, their appeal to other club members is treated not as difficulty in translating a word from Japanese to English but as difficulty completing the script.

In excerpt 3.2, as in excerpt 3.1, Mikan tries to help Taro-kun by prompting him, delivering virtually the entire self-introduction along with him. Taro-kun faces away from the circle and toward Mikan after each utterance, inviting her to give him his next line. After she supplies each line, Taro-kun turns back toward the circle and repeats it. At line 44, he produces a single word, "and," before turning to face Mikan. Mikan speaks Japanese, producing an informal interrogative, "*Nandattake. Kousaku.*" (What was it? Handicraft), inviting others to provide the appropriate English translation of *kousaku*. When no translation is immediately forthcoming, both Mikan and Taro-kun turn to face Sky, the chapter facilitator.

At line 47 Sky responds not to Mikan's question, "What is *kousaku*," but to the expectations of the script. She suggests the next part of Taro-kun's weekly speech, "I want to go." Mikan explains at line 48 that they are attempting to describe another thing that Taro-kun likes: "*Sukina koto. Kousaku.*" (Things he likes. Handicrafts.) Sky translates *kousaku* as "hand craft." Mikan repeats "hand craft" to Taro-kun before he says it himself at line 55. At line 56, again responding only to Taro-kun, Tanaka-papa

offers his usual feedback, "yeah." Despite the participation of Sky and Mikan, the utterance is treated as Taro-kun's accomplishment.

Since Taro-kun is the authorized speaker during this portion of talking time, only his speech production is treated as relevant. Tanaka-papa ignores Mikan and Sky's prompts. In addition, three-year-old Oto-chan's complaints about hunger and fatigue (lines 50, 54, 58, 64, and 68) are generally ignored or treated as a separate speech event. Oto-chan's mother, Kamachan, responds to her at lines 51 and 60 with low volume and does not face into the center of the circle. At line 69 she explicitly reminds Oto-chan that Taro-kun is the currently authorized speaker by shushing her and saying "*Mata hanashi chu*" (He's still in the middle of speaking). Like Tanaka-papa, Kamachan acknowledges that the goal of this portion of the meeting is the realization of Taro-kun's *jikoshokai* in accordance with the expected script.

In excerpts 3.3 and 3.4, produced immediately after excerpt 3.1 and 3.2, above, the members of Karagoku Family begin a new discourse activity. Where the prior activity was conceived of as a monologue in English, the latter activity is a multi-party discussion in Japanese. The self-introduction showed a model of language-as-script behavior. The discussion shows how club members evaluate talk outside of Hippo meetings. Implicit in this evaluation is an expectation that scripted discourses will serve the members well in other settings, outside of Hippo meetings.

Immediately after the completion of Taro-kun's *jikoshokai*, Mikan introduces a new topic, apparently at Taro-kun's request. Excerpt 3.3 occurs immediately after the exchange in excerpts 3.1 and 3.2. Unlike the *jikoshokai*, which was treated as a more

or less monologic speech delivered in English, the talk in excerpt 3.3 is treated as a

multi-party conversation. It is delivered in Japanese and reports events that occurred

at Taro-kun's kindergarten. Note how the contributions from Mikan, Tanaka-papa,

Sky, and the other members present respond to previous utterances within the

ongoing conversation, rather than anticipating or co-constructing elements of a set

text. (An English translation of the excerpt follows on the next page.)

Excerpt 3.3. Taro-kun (3) 8 April 2006

```
106  ((Taro-kun whispers something into Mikan's ear.))
107  Mikan  °eh? nan tte?°
108  (0.2)
109  Mikan  Yochien de, nanka, egigo no uta ga nn ((nods)) minna de
            kiiteiru nanka . minna ga kiiteiru toki ni eeto, . Chotto
            dekiru toka kara, fudan kara, eigo narateiru toka kara,
     sensei
110         ni jikoshokai shite kudasai to iwarete.
111  Tanaka ooh
112  Mikan  ((laughs))
113  Tanaka Sugoi
114  Sky    Sugoi yochien [de (shita).
115  Tanaka               [SUgoi ((claps))
116  Mikan  ((laughs)) eigo. Ima yutta.
117  Sky    nn
118  Tanaka ya: sugoi.
119  Sky    Yochien de yutta?
120  Taro   ((nods))
121  Tanaka  sugoi sugoi
122  Sky      Su:goi ((claps))
123  Kamachan sugoi jan.
124  Tanaka  nakanaka (dekinai) ne.
125  Ryo      kouenkai de nani yattara
126  Sky     °yaa°
127  Mikan   nanka London Buriji toka . minna de yatte
128  Tanaka ne
129  Mikan   sensei ga, nanka minna ni mm (unintelligible) to yobimasu.
130  Sky     °aa°
131  Mikan  ((laughs))
132  Tanaka aa. Y--? ((name of the local elementary school))
133  Mikan  T-- Yochien ((name of a local kindergarten))
     ((Oto-chan tries to take the microphone from Taro-kun. When she
134  cannot, she begins to cry.))
135  Kamachan Dare ga, dare ga?
136  Mikan   M-- sensei ((names Taro-kun's teacher))
137  Sky     Eh? M-- sensei?
138  Kamachan sou nan ya.
```

```
139  Sky      (   ) ((Sky cannot be heard over Oto-chan's crying.))
140  Mikan    hhh
141  ((Taro-kun whispers to Mikan. Mikan nods.))
142  Tanaka   jikoshokai kana?
143  ((Mikan nods))
144  Sky      [sugoi na
145  Tanaka   [sukoshi zutsu ni shite.
146  Mikan    Nanka kekko nagai no o oboitekure tte, M-- sensei.
147  Tanaka   [aa
148  Sky      [aa
149  ((Oto-chan stops crying.))
150  Taro     BO ((non-verbal sound, using microphone))
151  ((Mikan whispers to Taro-kun))
152  Shin     (   )
153  Mikan    hhh
154  Tanaka   (ma ma ma, sore de.)
     Sky      (nanode)
```

Translation of excerpt 3.3
```
106  ((Taro-kun whispers something into Mikan's ear.))
107  Mikan   °huh? what'd you say?°
108  (0.2)
109  Mikan  At kindergarten, like, an English song um ((nods)) everybody
          was listening like . when everybody was listening, well, .
     Because
          he can a little, because its his thing, because he's learning
110       English, the teacher said 'please do your self-introduction'.
111  Tanaka ooh
112  Mikan  ((laughs))
113  Tanaka Great
114  Sky    Great he did [at kindergarten.
115  Tanaka              [GREat ((claps))
116  Mikan  ((laughs)) English. He said it now.
117  Sky    mm
118  Tanaka o:h great.
119  Sky    You said it at kindergarten?
120  Taro   ((nods))
121  Tanaka  great great
122  Sky     Gre:at ((claps))
123  Kamachan that's great.
124  Tanaka  (he couldn't) for a while right.
125  Ryo     if he had at the meeting
126  Sky    °well°
127  Mikan  like London Bridge or whatever . everybody did
128  Tanaka right
129  Mikan  the teacher called like '(unintelligible) for everybody.'
130  Sky    °oh°
131  Mikan  ((laughs))
132  Tanaka oh. Y--? ((name of the local elementary school))
133  Mikan  T-- Kindergarten ((name of a local kindergarten))
     ((Oto-chan tries to take the microphone from Taro-kun. When she
134  cannot, she begins to cry.))
```

```
135  Kamachan Who, who?
136  Mikan    Ms. M-- ((names Taro-kun's teacher))
137  Sky      Huh? Ms. M--?
138  Kamachan is that right.
139  Sky      (   ) ((Sky cannot be heard over Oto-chan's crying.))
140  Mikan    hhh
141  ((Taro-kun whispers to Mikan. Mikan nods.))
142  Tanaka   self-introduction I suppose?
143  ((Mikan nods))
144  Sky      [great right
145  Tanaka   [little by little.
146  Mikan    Ms. M-- was like 'he memorized this long thing for us.'
147  Tanaka [oh
148  Sky    [oh
149  ((Oto-chan stops crying.))
150  Taro   BO ((non-verbal sound, using microphone))
151  ((Mikan whispers to Taro-kun))
152  Shin     (   )
153  Mikan    hhh
154  Tanaka   (well well well, that's it.)
     Sky      (certainly)
```

During the conversation in excerpt 3.3 Mikan describes Taro-kun's deployment of his scripted text as a successful and well-appreciated use of English in a school setting. Mikan announces at line 109 that Taro-kun's kindergarten teacher invited him to deliver his self-introduction at school. Her initial announcement appears quite hesitant, since it is peppered with discourse markers such as *nanka* (whatever), *eeto* (an empty lexical item that functions as a filled pause), and *toka* (and so on). Additionally, Mikan provides three accounts for the reason that Taro-kun was so invited: "*Chotto dekiru toka kara*" (because he can a little), "*fudan kara*" (because it's an ordinary thing), and "*eigo narateiru toka kara*" (because he's learning English and so on). Eventually, she describes what happened, couching the claim in reported speech attributed to Taro-kun's teacher: "*sensei ni jikoshokai shite kudasai to iwarete*" (Teacher said, 'Please do your self-introduction'). In the words that Mikan attributes to the teacher, the speech is called *jikoshokai* (self-introduction). This label is commonly

used during Hippo Family Club meetings, but is also fairly common in other educational settings. The attribution of the label to the teacher thus aligns her with Hippo discourses, but does not mark any clear difference from daily kindergarten activities.

The reactions of other club members to this narrative suggest that they regard Taro-kun's experience at the kindergarten as a successful accomplishment worthy of celebration. Following Mikan's halting announcement of Taro-kun's experience, Tanaka-papa and Sky both offer strong positive assessments, each using the word *sugoi* (great, impressive, enormous). While Mikan plays down her son's accomplishments (e.g. line 115: "*Eigo. Ima yutta*" (English, what he said just now); line 126 "*Nanka London Bridge toka*" (Whatever, London Bridge and so on)), Tanaka-papa and Sky continue to produce lavish appreciations.

As the discussion continues, the club members suggest that the memorization and reproduction of a scripted text is an important goal both in the realm of Hippo activities and in language learning more generally. At lines 134-137 Kamachan grounds the activity in the realm of kindergarten when she asks which teacher invited the performance. Placing Taro-kun's English in kindergarten – that is, outside of weekly Hippo activities – makes his speaking ability relevant not only to Hippo but to a broader universe of language use. Mikan continues the line of discourse in reported speech again attributed to the kindergarten teacher at line 145: "*Nanka kekko nagai no o oboitekure tte, M-- sensei*" (Ms. M-- was like, "Somehow he memorized this long thing for us"). It is interesting that Mikan reports the teacher's evaluation as

oboitekure (memorize for us), since the suggestion that memorization is a goal of language learning, attributed to the teacher, reflects the Hippo ideology of language as script. Although LEX Institute materials contrast the Hippo practice of memorizing speeches with the grammar-based study in 'traditional' schooling, in Mikan's recollection the school teacher views such memorization as an accomplishment worthy of praise.

When two younger members of the club suggest problems with Taro-kun's language ability, their objections are downplayed. Ryo (line 124) and Shin (line 151) both suggest that Taro-kun's English ability may not be appropriate to all situations. Ryo points out that Taro-kun did not speak at the chapter's *kouenkai* (public meeting), a suggestion that is immediately downplayed by facilitator Sky. Shin's comment at line 151 cannot be heard clearly in the recording, but again Tanaka-papa and Sky each suggest that, whatever inadequacies may have appeared to seven-year-old Shin, they should not be regarded as detracting from Taro-kun's accomplishment.

The interaction shown in excerpt 3.4 suggests that it is the production of set texts, and not any ability to interact with native speakers of the languages being learned, that Hippo Family Club members regard as their key to what I am calling *cosmopolitan citizenship*. That is, by knowing and reproducing these speeches, club members see themselves as part of a worldwide community of people who produce the same languages. This reproduction need not include interaction with those language users. Although I have been in the circle all during Taro-kun's *jikoshokai* and the subsequent discussion of his experiences at kindergarten, none of the club

members have treated me as a resource for learning English or a potential contributor

to the interaction in English. It is only when Taro-kun expresses reluctance to sing in

English that my presence is noted. Club members position me not as a potential

collaborator, but as a passive audience.

Excerpt 3.4. Taro-kun (4) 8 April 2006
```
155  Kamachan uta o utae jan.
156  Mikan    utae (yo/zo).
157  ((Taro-kun places his hands over the microphone, slumps his head.))
158  Sky      (nandemo ii, chotto)
159  Sky      chotto Chado-san ni choudai
160  Chad     utatte choudai
161  ((general laughter))
162  Sky      dete choudai.
163  ((Mikan whispers something to Taro-kun.))
164  Taro    ((singing)) London Bridge is falling down,
165  Taro    [falling down, falling down. London Bridge is falling down,
166  my fair lady.]
167  all     [falling down, falling down. London Bridge is falling down,
168  my fair lady.]
169  ((applause))
170  Sky      Sugo:i=
171  Tanaka   =Sugoi kirei da.
172  Kamachan Kirei da wa.
173  Tanaka   Are sugoi na?
174  Kamachan na.
175  Tomazo   kakoii na.
176  Sky      Itsumo shiteiru no kana to omotteita.
177  Tomazo   sugoi da na.
178  Sky      Demo (  ) de ippai utaeru to omotta na.
179  Taro     BO ((non-verbal sound, using microphone))
180  Sky      ((unusually high pitched)) kakoii! ((claps))
181  Tanaka   sugoi.
182  Kamachan Matta yochien de (yatte).
```

Translation of excerpt 3.4
```
155  Kamachan Sing the song.
156  Mikan    Sing.
157  ((Taro-kun places his hands over the microphone, slumps his head.))
158  Sky      (whatever, just a little)
159  Sky      Do a little for Chad.
160  Chad     Sing for me.
161  ((general laughter))
162  Sky      Come out for me.
163  ((Mikan whispers something to Taro-kun.))
164  Taro    ((singing)) London Bridge is falling down,
165  Taro    [falling down, falling down. London Bridge is falling down,
```

```
166  my fair lady.]
167  all     [falling down, falling down. London Bridge is falling down,
168  my fair lady.]
169  ((applause))
170  Sky      Grea:t=
171  Tanaka   =It's really pretty.
172  Kamachan It's pretty.
173  Tanaka   That's great right?
174  Kamachan right.
175  Tomazo   cool right.
176  Sky      I thought 'maybe what he always does.'
177  Tomazo   That's great right.
178  Sky      But I thought 'with (   ) he can sing a lot' right.
179  Taro     BO ((non-verbal sound, using microphone))
180  Sky      ((unusually high pitched)) cool! ((claps))
181  Tanaka   great.
182  Kamachan (Do it) again at kindergarten.
```

By positioning the lone native speaker of English in the room as an outsider to the group, the members of Karagoku Family suggest that the memorization of set texts is a relevant skill for accessing the world of speakers outside of Hippo Family Club. When Kamachan and Mikan each invite Taro-kun to sing a song in English (lines 155-156), they are ignored. Sky then entreats Taro-kun to share something with the group (line 158). When he does not respond immediately, she suggests that Taro-kun should sing for me. Although I am a native speaker of English, I was not specifically invited to comment on the quality of Taro-kun's speech in excerpt 3.3, nor was I treated as an appropriate resource for English vocabulary items in excerpt 3.1. Here, though, at line 159 Sky positions *Chado-san* (Mr. Chad) as an appropriate audience for Taro-kun's serenade. Sky uses the honorific *-san*, a move which may place me outside of the group. When I join in the chorus of requests, I follow Sky's lead in making myself the recipient of Taro-kun's performance: "*Utatte choudai*" (Sing for me). This utterance is immediately followed by laughter from several

individuals (line 161), possibly a reaction of surprise, which would again position me outside of the group.

When Taro-kun finally does produce part of a song in English (lines 164-168), he is again accorded lavish appreciations from Tanaka-papa, Sky, Kamachan, and Tomazo (lines 170-181). Taro-kun's English is judged to be *sugoi* (great), *kirei* (pretty, clear), and *kakoii* (cool). Although Taro-kun appears to be more interested in the microphone than in the audience reaction (see his non-speech verbalization at line 179), the hint of a smile as he places the microphone back into the circle suggests that the lavish appreciations have reached him, and may well serve as continued motivation to rehearse his English text.

This analysis suggests that Hippo Family Club members see the ability to reproduce texts, and not necessarily any ability to interact with fellow speakers, as a goal of language learning. This in turn hints at one possible reason for the club's emphasis on *tagengo* (multilingualism) as a goal, as opposed to fluency in any single language. Each text is treated as a formal unity. While a self-introduction in German might have all the same referential components as a similar self-introduction in English, it is the form of the speech that must be committed to memory. The re-production of the German speech is then the practice that connects the club member to the world of German speakers, just as the re-production of the English text secures a connection with English speakers. Memorizing more scripts promises access to broader sections of the world, even before interacting with speakers of those languages. Club members do, in fact, seem to value their interactions with speakers of

foreign languages, as shown by their eagerness to host visitors from abroad or to travel abroad. The global community within which *tagengo* allows members to envision themselves, however, is larger and more appealing than any set of actual, face-to-face relationships.

This chapter has examined two aspects of the language-as-script ideology visible among Hippo Family Club members in Japan. In terms of language education, club members contrast their own understanding with that of dominant educational institutions. Where most schools and some *eikaiwa* (English conversation services) stress accuracy and fidelity to pedagogical grammars, an approach I have identified as the language-as-physics ideology, Hippo Family Club believes in natural language acquisition. Rather than memorizing, or even discussing, pedagogical grammars, Hippo participants seek to acquire language without such study via exposure to recordings of native speakers and the second-language speech practice of fellow club members.

At the same time, memorization does have an important place in Hippo's approach to language learning. Rather than memorizing a meta-language that consists of grammatical rules and lexical elements, Hippo members memorize key texts, especially the content of LEX Institute's story recordings. By reciting these stories and their own speeches modeled on the recordings, members believe that the natural language capacity of their own minds transforms the sounds of the recorded stories into the words of the target languages.

Additionally, in terms of more general understandings of the nature of language, Hippo's language-as-script ideology suggests that the the fluent production of appropriate phrases – even if those phrases are pre-compiled and memorized – is speech production. Thus, it is not necessary to understand or to be able to model the underlying grammatical patterns of a language, so long as one can reproduce the appropriate output. Hippo Family Club members pay particular attention to the fluency or fluidity with which utterances are produced, usually without regard for creativity in the sense of "ability to express new thoughts and to understand entirely new expressions of thought" by manipulating grammatical "laws and principles" (Chomsky 1972:6).

As the analysis presented in section 3.4 suggests, club members celebrate the production of rote texts, paying particular attention to pronunciation and fluency, and do not expect novel or extemporaneous production. Furthermore, the discourse of club members positions such memorized speech production as an appropriate means to interact with non-members, including native speakers of the target languages. Thus the memorized script is, if not language itself, at once a means of approximating and of developing the species-specific human ability to command linguistic structures (Chomsky 1972:9). Since Hippo Family Club members believe that this human ability is present and complete "from the time the first cell of the egg was produced" (Hippo Family Club 1997), and that all forms of speech production are equally expressions of that general ability, these pre-compiled utterances are considered not only steps toward the acquisition of subsequent languages but expressions of natural

language ability. It is curious to note that these understandings are at turns consonant with and opposed to the understandings of language expressed by academic linguists. We shall return to the ambivalent relationship between Hippo and the academy in Chapter 5.

In the next chapter, we will consider some of the language ideologies visible in the United States, particularly those expressed by members of LEX Language Project, the American sister of Hippo Family Club. We begin with American ideologies of education and bilingualism that prescribe the learning of foreign languages to native speakers of English, even while proscribing the maintenance of bilingual abilities for English language learners. Since the members of LEX Language Project are, by and large, suburban or urban middle-class English speakers, their pursuit of multilingual abilities is not outside of mainstream educational expectations. Where Hippo Family Club in Japan sees its activities in opposition to traditional schooling, LEX Language Project positions its activities as an effective adjunct to schools. I then describe some of the effects of nationalist and other political ideologies on language planning and language education in the United States. LEX Language Project's advocacy of multilingualism for all may be at odds with a political movement in recent decades to ensure that English is the sole medium of public interaction, yet the suppression of multilingualism and the pursuit of multilingualism have long been opposed forces in American politics, with neither gaining clear support. Finally, through an analysis of spoken discourse at LEX Language Project meetings, we

examine individual members' ideas about language, language learning, and the academy. Again, unlike Hippo Family Club discourses in Japan that oppose the club to schools, members of LEX America seem to value academic tradition and to validate their own beliefs through reference to scientific discourses.

Language ideologies II: LEX America
"Language is the phenomena which occurs in the depths of our consciousness."
(track 18, *Anyone Can Speak 7 Languages!*)

4.1. Introduction

Although I was born in the United States and have lived here most of my life, I was

more nervous about my first trip to meet members of LEX chapters in the USA than I

had been during my initial encounters with Hippos in Japan. By the time I made that

trip to Massachusetts, I had been a member of Karagoku Family in Japan for nearly a

year, and had begun to write and speak about LEX/Hippo in ways that were generally

well received by club members (Nilep 2006). Nonetheless, I worried that, in my role

as researcher, I would not be accepted by the US members. When I wrote to the LEX

America staff in Belmont, Massachusetts, I made sure to include a photo of myself

with 'my' Hippo family. On the flight from Denver to Boston, I was excited and

anxious. Surprisingly, the thing that calmed my nerves was the subway ride from

Logan Airport. I noticed that the trains used the same sort of color-coded line maps

that were used not only in Japan but in virtually every metropolitan train system I

have ever been on. In some ways, I realized, cities all around the world are alike.

The United States is, of course, thought of as a distinct place, a nation with its

own history, its own customs, and its own ideologies. This chapter will review some

of the dominant ideologies surrounding language and education in the United States,

and compare these both to the language ideologies visible in LEX Language Project

discourses, and to the comparable but distinct ideologies of Hippo Family Club,

described in the previous chapter. As in Chapter 3, we will begin with an exploration

of language ideologies that effect LEX Language Project's approach to education,

including the value placed on tradition and authority. Unlike the situation in Japan, where Hippo Family Club views its activities as a distinct break from traditional education, LEX Language Project clubs view their activities as an adjunct or addition to other educational activities. In section 4.3 we will examine broader ideologies of language, politics, and nationalism in the United States. I discuss four popular political ideologies that shape current on debates over language planning in the US. For the past several decades Americans have debated whether to make English the official language of the state, and what effects such an action would have on individual language behavior. Building on work by Deborah Schildkraut (2005), I examine the effects of liberalism, republican citizenship, and a form of ethnocentrism that Schildkraut calls ethnoculturalism on debates over language policy. Finally, in section 4.4 I analyze discourse from a LEX Language Project meeting in which members discuss their own theories of the history of and relationships among different languages. In their discussion, these members appeal to the authority of history and linguistics as academic endeavors, again aligning with 'tradition' in ways that Hippo Family Club in Japan tends to reject.

4.2. Ideologies of education in America

Shirley Brice Heath (1977) describes two common ideological approaches that effect policy toward bilingual education in the United States. "Within the policy approach," she writes, "government officials and planners stress bilingual education to bring the culturally and linguistically different in line with educational standards and economic realities" (1977:54). This contrasts with a cultivation approach, which "derives from a

historic emphasis on learning two or more languages to provide breadth of information access and to foster intellectual discipline" (1977:54). In other words, for those who are outside the linguistic mainstream, such as the children of recent immigrants or indigenous language minorities, language policy tends to view language education as the provision of standard English, while for those not viewed as outsiders language education is a means to broaden educational and intellectual experience. While the goal of bilingual education based on policy approach ideologies is to increase educational opportunities for linguistic minorities by increasing access to mainstream education, actual teaching may be "bilingual in name only" (Zentella 1997:276), stressing standard English grammar and style to the exclusion of other languages or varieties, particularly when students' command non-standard varieties of their native languages. Thus for speakers of stigmatized languages or varieties access to education comes at the cost of under-developing or losing their native language, a situation sometimes called "subtractive bilingualism" (Lambert 1977). This contrasts with the experience of standard English speakers who may learn a second language with no risk of attrition to their first, a situation of "additive bilingualism" (Lambert 1977) or "cultivation" (Heath 1977).

Anne Pomerantz (2002) suggests that the cultivation approach remains prominent in the experience of middle class English speakers in the US. "Many middle- and upper-middle-class college students in the US consider expertise in a language like Spanish, Japanese, French, Russian, or German an asset in an increasingly global world and the 'edge' an English-speaking American needs to

compete in foreign markets" (Pomerantz 2002:276). Bilingualism is frequently

prescribed for members of the linguistic and cultural mainstream, even as native

speakers of the languages prescribed are pressured to lose the languages in the pursuit

of English (Urciuoli 1996, Zentella 1997).

In its promotional materials, LEX Language Project suggests that a typical

club member is one who comes from the the middle-class and is a student or former

student, much like those described by Pomerantz (2002); that is, those for whom

linguistic expertise is seen as a social or economic asset.[24] For example, the club

newsletter features photos and stories depicting club members traveling throughout

Europe, Asia, and Africa. LEX operates 'scholarship' programs, funded by donations

from members and other supporters, which allow opportunities for travel even to

members who might not otherwise be able to afford such expenses. Nevertheless,

such leisure travel is typically associated with middle-class or elite subjects (e.g.

MacCannell [1976] 1999, Urry 2003, Thurlow and Jaworski 2006). In fact the

members of LEX Language Project who I met in Massachusetts were primarily

suburban middle-class people, and most were native speakers of English. The non-

native speakers of English I met were European or Asian immigrants who were fluent

in English before joining LEX.

Club materials also construct their audience as formally educated. For

example, the LEX web page recommends, "For people in the Boston area who have

had difficulty learning languages, the LEX program offers an informal way to acquire

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[24]   For more on the economic and political advantages stemming from the control of privileged
        language varieties, see for example Bourdieu (1977a, 1991).

languages" (LEX Language Project 2007). Calling LEX activities "an informal way"

implicitly contrasts them with the formal activities of conventional schooling. The

present perfect in "have had difficulty learning" locates this experience in the

learner's personal history. This formulation suggests that potential members are those

who have already received formal education in the past. Furthermore, the notion that

studying language was difficult presupposes that it was valued highly enough to be

pursued, again aligning with Pomerantz's description of foreign language learners.

LEX promotional materials also suggest that club participation is an enriching

experience for children and adolescents. In the "Members Voices" section of its web

page, LEX features testimonials from current and past club members. Each

testimonial is attributed to a member, or in the case of "Sarah and Morgan" a pair of

members.

Sarah and Morgan

My daughter, Morgan, entered kindergarten this year. Unlike most of her peers, she had no formal pre-school experience. What Morgan had was Hippo. My goal for her in Hippo was that she develop a confidence and familiarity with the sounds of many languages so that later in life, if she wishes, she will be able to learn them with ease. But what she accomplished with Hippo was so much more. Through the singing, dancing, and listening to the sounds, Morgan has developed musical, physical, and listening abilities even beyond my own. Her accent in the basic seven languages is better than mine. Even more importantly, through the acceptance and encouragement of people of all ages and abilities, Morgan has learned tolerance. This will guide her through her entire life. Morgan loves school and all the children and teachers love her. I am sure Hippo had a lot to do with it. (LEX Language Project 2007)

Mother Sarah (who we presume is the actual author of the testimonial) says that

daughter Morgan has recently entered kindergarten. By juxtaposition of the

suggestions "she had no formal pre-school experience," and "What Morgan had was

Hippo," Sarah suggests that LEX/Hippo activities are an educational enrichment

helpful to success in school. This suggestion is reinforced by the claim that LEX

helped Morgan to develop "musical, physical, and listening abilities," and the

conclusion that "Morgan loves school and all the children and teachers love her."

Sarah's description of her daughter's experiences is in some ways reminiscent

of ideas attributed to LEX Institute (Japan) in Chapter 3. For example, the claim that

Morgan "developed... abilities" despite having "no formal pre-school experience" is

similar to talk of the naturalness of Hippo learning. Sarah's narrative also accords

with the surprised-by-competence narrative seen in Japan. Sarah's goal for Morgan

was simply that she "develop a confidence and familiarity with the sounds of many

languages so that later in life...she will be able to learn them." But to Sarah's surprise,

"What [Morgan] accomplished with Hippo was so much more."[25] Sarah's description

is, however, subtly different from the narratives of Hippo Family Club members and

from LEX Institute materials.

Sarah's mention of "tolerance" recalls both the tradition of liberalism in

American political thought (section 4.3) and especially contemporary discourses of

multiculturalism. The notion of tolerance was especially associated with liberal

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[25] In contrast to the surprised-by-competence narrative heard in Japan, however, Sarah does not suggest that Morgan is able to speak her target languages. This may relate to Morgan's age, or may be a reflection of differences in what counts as 'speaking' for Sarah and for the Japanese Hippo members cited in Chapter 3.

political discourses in Europe during the Reformation (Turner 2003, Brown 2006).

Tolerance, particularly for religious differences, has been a major liberal value in the

United States (Hartz 1955, Turner 2003). In addition, as Wendy Brown (2006)

explains, *tolerance* in the twenty-first century has become the watch word of an

expanded project of multiculturalism. Brown describes the new tolerance as a

"conceit of neutrality" toward social and cultural differences that actually marks non-

liberal societies as intolerant barbarians (2006: 7). Sarah's suggestion that Morgan

relates to "people of all ages and abilities" is reminiscent of children in Tokyo who

reportedly "did not concern themselves with skin color, or differences between

countries" (Hippo Family Club 1997). The Japanese description rejects nationalism

and racism much as the American one rejects discrimination based on age or ability.

By naming this value "tolerance," though, Sarah also aligns herself with

contemporary American liberal values.

Political ideologies aside, LEX Language Project shows much less resistance

to the institution of formal education and schooling than does Hippo Family Club in

Japan. Additional perspective on the relationship between LEX America's views of its

own activities and those of schools is provided by my observation of the LEX after-

school program, a short-term project in which Kelly, a LEX America staff member,

led Hippo-like activities for students at a local elementary school. This public

elementary school in the Greater Boston area offers a rotating selection of after-

school enrichment programs for students to select from. During one of my visits to

the LEX America headquarters, the LEX after-school program was in week eight of

its 11-week series. LEX staffer Kelly and the school's principal and after-school

program coordinator graciously allowed me to observe some of the program's ninety-

minute weekly meetings.

Before attending my first after-school meeting, I was rather surprised by how

different Kelly's description of the after-school activities seemed in comparison to

LEX Language Project activities at weekly meetings.

> [Kelly] mentioned that one of the participants didn't
> "have a second language." She therefore felt left out
> until several weeks in, when she had learned enough
> phrases to participate. I note the assumption that
> participants will normatively be bilingual when they
> begin. "Participation" also sounds different – [Kelly]
> referred to the girl raising her hand in response to "How
> do you say X?" type questions. That sounds quite un-
> Hippo. I may have made a face: [Kelly] allowed that
> the after school activities are rather different to the club
> activities. (Field notes, 3 March 2009)

The mention of raising one's hand in order to participate, and of the comparatively

teacher-centered activity of asking and answering questions, seemed very different

from the usual LEX Language Project activities, in which participation is much more

autonomous and does not explicitly involve testing knowledge or recalling specific

patterns. Where the Japanese Hippo Family Club discourse specifically holds that

there is no place for teachers or tests in Hippo, Kelly was able to reconcile the

differing patterns of interaction at club meetings and the after-school program so that

both were acceptable as LEX activities.

Expectations regarding the existence of multilingualism in the Greater Boston

community are also quite different from those I encountered in Osaka, Yokohama, or

other areas where I participated with Japanese Hippo clubs. In Japan, the normative

assumption is that members will be monolingual when they arrive.[26] In contrast, Kelly

specifically mentioned the one member of the after-school program who was

monolingual, suggesting that monolingualism is the marked case. When I visited the

after-school program, I noted that most of the students who professed multilingual

abilities appeared to speak languages related to their ethnic heritage. Judging from

their physical appearance, their given names, and the languages they claimed, I

estimated that the largest proportion of children in the after-school program were of

Latino/Latina heritage, while the rest of the students were fairly evenly split into

those of Anglo/European and South Asian ancestry. In this respect, it is perhaps

unsurprising that blonde-haired Elizabeth, the girl Kelly described to me, spoke only

English.

The after-school activities did resemble LEX Language Project club meetings

in many respects, though with some notable differences. At the beginning of the after-

school meeting, Kelly took roll call and marked down attendance on a form which

she would later give to the school's after-school program coordinator. While the

absence of regular members, or the return of members after long absence are

sometimes noticed and commented on at LEX club meetings, there is nothing so

formal as an attendance sheet. After roll call, we played a ball-tossing game familiar

from both Hippo meetings in Japan and LEX club meetings in the US. Typically at

LEX/Hippo meetings, the person who catches the ball utters a greeting in the

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[26]   This was not universally the case – several Japanese Hippo members were native speakers of
        Korean as well as Japanese, and at least one individual, an immigrant from China, spoke several
        languages before joining. Still, monolingualism is the normative, unmarked expectation.

language of her or his choice, and then tosses the ball to another player. At the after-school meeting, Kelly began by reminding the children that the person who catches the ball is to say, "My name is ___," in the language of his or her choice. After several minutes, she said that the person catching the ball should now announce her or his age. During the activity, children would sometimes ask Kelly or me to remind them of a word in some target language. This activity is similar in most respects to the game as played at LEX/Hippo meetings, but with a separation of teacher and learner roles not seen there.

Following the greeting game, we played SADA activities identical to those practiced at LEX/Hippo club meetings (see Chapter 1 for examples). Next, we played *karuta* (Chapter 3) with solid-colored cards in just the way that it is played at LEX Language Project meetings: a target language is agreed upon, a caller names a color-word, and the players race to grab the card of that color. The only major difference between these activities at the after-school meeting and regular club meetings is that, where club facilitators generally use indirect speech expressions to introduce activities, here Kelly would simply announce the next activity without such polite formulation.

Finally, in what I noted was "the most Hippo-like part of the 90 minute meeting" (field notes, 6 March 2009), the children did standard self-introduction speeches using *kamishibai* (Chapter 1). The major difference between this activity and its analog at LEX/Hippo club meetings is that rather than making their own *kamishibai*, the children had apparently informed Kelly of their birth dates, favorite

activities, etc. and she had made the booklets for them. As a result, the *kamishibai*

were remarkably uniform, with the same content presented in the same order, often

using duplicate clip-art illustrations. In my field notes, I summed up the after-school

activity this way:

> The after school program has a more pedagogic, almost
> 'teacher-centered' feel than LEX club meetings. [Kelly]
> announced each activity, asked which language people
> [wanted] to use, and reminded people to stay on task
> during the activities. Compared to ordinary class
> activities it might be fun (kids seemed disappointed that
> the program will end in 3 weeks) ... but compared to
> Hippo it's very on-task and unified. This might relate to
> positioning within a school. (field notes, 6 March 2009)

Both the after-school program and regular weekly meetings of LEX Language Project

chapters drew from the same stock of activities, and each had the goal of educational

and intellectual enrichment through the cultivation of multilingualism. The after-

school program was a bit more regimented and more teacher-centered than weekly

LEX meetings (though far less so than ordinary elementary school classes). This

difference may be attributable to a number of factors. First, the after-school activities

were carried out in the library of the elementary school, and were likely effected by

the children's habituation to in-school norms of behavior. Similarly, the LEX after-

school activities were only one of a series of after-school enrichment activities; Kelly

may have been asked explicitly or pressured implicitly to bring her conduct in line

with that of other programs. In addition, it is also likely that age played a role. Kelly,

who appeared to be in her late twenties, was the only adult in a room full of nine and

ten year old students prior to my arrival. When I attended meetings the children

treated me more like they treated Kelly than their age-mates; for example, on several

occasions I was asked to supply a forgotten word or to judge whether an utterance

was correct.

While I have described the after-school program in terms of differences from

Hippo activities, the difference between conduct at weekly LEX meetings in the US

and conduct at Hippo meetings in Japan showed the same direction of fit. That is,

LEX Language Project members in the Greater Boston area showed greater alignment

with traditional notions of foreign-language pedagogy than did their opposite

numbers in Osaka or Yokohama. Recall from Chapter 3 how LEX Institute materials

suggest that classroom activities are not conducive to language acquisition.

> Unfortunately, the way most people usually attempt to
> learn a language, in a traditional classroom, does not
> provide a conducive setting for language acquisition.
> Infants don't learn their native language by breaking the
> language down into little pieces of grammar and
> vocabulary, or by looking in a dictionary, so why
> should a child or adult learn other languages that way
> either? (LEX Institute 2007)

LEX Language Project similarly says that it is "not like a school or classroom

environment" (LEX Language Project 2007), contrasting the practices of LEX

Language Project learning with traditional language pedagogy. Despite this rejection,

however, US members display both practices and ideas that are similar to traditional

foreign language pedagogy.

Earl, a member who regularly participated in two LEX Language Project

clubs, displayed a folk-theory of language learning apparently shaped by previous

experiences with traditional foreign language pedagogy. Earl told me that he had

studied French in high school, and he typically used French during weekly meetings.

Earl would routinely speak French during talking time, generally describing his

activities during the preceding week. Based on his careful delivery, I surmise that Earl

would prepare the content of his speeches ahead of time and memorize them. When I

spoke with Earl outside of meetings, he talked about his desire to improve his ability

to speak French. He also suggested, "Sometimes [facilitators] don't correct us if we

make mistakes. Maybe that's not good for learning" (field notes 15 September 2007).

He also suggested that parents correct their children's utterances, thereby helping

them learn grammar. I noted that linguists generally say that explicit correction is not

necessary or helpful for first language acquisition. I even pointed out that, rather than

correcting my nephew's "mistakes," his parents actually repeat them because they

consider it cute. Earl rationalized that correction does not occur at "such a young age"

(field notes 15 September 2007), but implied that it is nonetheless useful later in the

acquisition process. Earl described language learning in terms reminiscent of

calisthenics – the more one practices, the stronger and more flexible one becomes.

While his desire for explicit correction contrasts with ideas expressed in LEX

materials, his notion of "gradual stretching" is entirely compatible with the practice of

other LEX Language Project learners.

Club facilitator Natalie struggled to reconcile the LEX ideal of "no teachers"

with the expectation of some club members that their errors should be corrected.

Natalie worried about whether and how to offer such correction. Officially, LEX

Language Project gives the facilitator no special right or obligation to correct or

otherwise try to affect the speech of other members. On the other hand, individual members have a variety of opinions on correction. Earl, as described above, wanted more explicit correction, and specifically expected facilitators to provide it. Similarly, Brandon, a member of another club chapter where Natalie sometimes participated, would sometimes ask for assistance when he was uncertain of a word or conjugation, though his requests were not necessarily directed to meeting facilitators. Natalie did not assume, though, that all members would welcome correction, or that she had the right to offer it.

When Natalie asked me how I handle the issue of correction, I described my own household. My wife is a native speaker of Japanese, and I am a native speaker of English. My wife sometimes complains that I do not correct her grammatical mistakes in English. In contrast, when she corrects my own errors in Japanese, I am often irritated. When I taught English classes I struggled to balance correction with freedom and fluency. In that situation, I was expected to correct students' errors, yet I feared that doing so too often would stifle their creativity and confidence. In a similar fashion, Natalie worried that offering corrections might dampen the collaborative and creative spirit of weekly meetings. At the same time, though, members whose persistent errors become fossilized might come to resent LEX, and especially the club facilitators. Natalie appears to deal with this double bind by offering very subtle implicit corrections. For example, at the next weekly meeting when Natalie asked me what song we should listen to from the SADA CD I suggested *Henbok imnida* (Korean: *there is happy). Natalie asked, *Henbok hamnida*? (I am happy), subtly

correcting my error. Had we not recently discussed the use of correction, I doubt that I would have noticed the rephrasing, with its implicit correction.

LEX Language Project provides its members with opportunities to learn multiple languages in line with what Heath (1977) identified as the cultivation ideology of bilingual education: language learning as a means of fostering intellectual enrichment. This approach to language learning is most often afforded to elite or middle-class subjects, though the existence of scholarship programs and provision in a public elementary school show that LEX wishes to make it available to working- and lower-middle-class learners as well. The form of LEX activities in the public elementary school seems to be partially adapted to the norms of formal schooling, a marked departure from the Japanese LEX Institute's rejection of traditional foreign-language education. Some members, too, align with an ideology of language learning as the transmission of knowledge, as seen in requests for explicit correction. Facilitators must negotiate a position between expectations of an egalitarian, learner-centered experience on one hand, and demands that they offer expert knowledge and assistance on the other.

In Japan, where school curriculum is fairly standardized due to the influence of central authorities such as the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (Butler & Iino 2005), Hippo Family Club is seen as an antidote to traditional education. In the US, though, LEX Language Project members and staff treat club activities as an adjunct to other methods of foreign language learning, including formal schooling. As in Japan, where *tagengo* (multilingualism) is seen as

an inclusive, egalitarian response to ideologies of monolingualism, LEX America aligns its practices with notions of tolerance and inclusivity. But the ideological backgrounds against which these discourses stand make their realizations slightly different in each location. Table 4.1 compares expressions of Hippo ideology in Japan with their analogs in LEX Language Project.

Hippo activities (Japan)	LEX activities (USA)
innovative activities contrasted with "traditional" schooling	*additional* activities complement schooling
"natural" activities	"informal" activities
utterance based activities contrasted with "grammar and vocabulary" analysis	*utterance* as well as *vocabulary based* activities; spontaneous discussions of grammar
holistic	*holistic*
learner-centered "no teachers"	*learner-centered* clubs reconciled with some *pedagogic* activities
egalitarian	*egalitarian* and "tolerant"
learners united	*learners united*
low-stress "no need to worry"	*low-stress* "relaxed"
(presumed) effective	*(presumed) effective* "for people... who have had difficulty learning languages"
fun	"fun"

Table 4.1. Comparison of Hippo activities (Japan) with LEX activities (USA). Folk terms used in club materials appear in quotation marks.

In Japan, Hippo Family Club activities are described as an innovative break from "traditional" learning in schools. Both members and club advertisements describe schooling as ineffective and unnatural. In the US, on the other hand, club activities are described as "an informal way to acquire languages" (LEX Language

Project 2007) that can help people who have had difficulty with other learning methods. Rather than rejecting schooling, LEX Language Project proposes its activities as an additional enrichment, one that can help children do better in school or help adults improve beyond their school experiences.

The language-as-script ideology (Chapter 3) in Japan suggests that learners should not pay attention to individual words or phrases, but to the overall *kotoba no nami* (wave of words) from which their minds will naturally build linguistic competence. LEX Language Project uses many of the same utterance- or text-based activities as Hippo in Japan, including *metakatsu* (Hippo's repetition activity) and listening to LEX CDs, which is a central activity in both places. In addition, though, LEX Language Project clubs in the US make greater use of activities that use isolated words or phrases, such as the *karuta* game that matches color-words to colored cards. In addition, as we shall see below, it is not unusual for members in the US to engage in spontaneous meta-linguistic talk, discussing the sound patterns of particular languages, or syntactic or lexical regularities in language families.

In both Japan and the US there is an expectation that club activities should be learner-centered. In Japan, this is realized in frequent expressions to the effect that there are no teachers and that all club members are equal, an ideal that is not seen as contradicted by practices such as the co-construction of speeches by a child with adult assistance (Chapter 3). In the US, the ideal of learner-centered clubs is reconciled with the status afforded facilitators in the after-school program and at some regular weekly meetings. Both Japanese and American club members value equality, but

where Japanese members discuss this in terms of the absence of hierarchy, American members are more likely to mention 'tolerance' of inter-personal differences.

Both in the US and in Japan members view LEX/Hippo activities as low-stress and fun. This outlook may contribute to the effectiveness of the club as a learning experience in two ways. First, the relative lack of stress helps to reduce the affective filter, a learner's feelings of anxiety and lack of self-confidence and motivation that impede the understanding of language input and therefore interfere with second language acquisition (Krashen 1982). Additionally, unlike the short-term, goal-directed learning typical of formal schooling, LEX/Hippo activities are envisioned as a pleasurable, life-long pursuit. Members who spend a greater length of time in contact with target languages have the opportunity to receive more comprehensible input, which in turn is associated with more complete acquisition (Krashen 1982, Carroll 1985).

4.3 Nationalist ideologies affect language policy in the United States

Let us take a step back from LEX Language Project ideologies of language education to examine several political ideologies commonly seen in the United States that have an effect on language education and on language policy more generally. I will argue that there are a complex set of political ideologies in the United States, and that no single political ideology is shared by a clear majority of the people. Furthermore, the effects of these political ideologies on beliefs about language policy are not straightforward. For example, as I argue below, classical liberalism may be appealed

to in order to support the provision of bilingual education even as a neo-liberal push for individual success in a system of global capitalism is mobilized to support education in English only. In practice, these political ideologies in combination with the language ideologies described in section 4.2 tend to marginalize native speakers of languages other than English.

One of the best known civic myths in the United States is the story of the Melting Pot. According to this story, the American people come from sundry other nations in pursuit of the American Dream – though precisely what that dream consists of need not be made specific in telling the story, and indeed seems to vary among individuals. Once they arrive in America, these diverse individuals are metaphorically melted to form part of a national alloy. "We are all from different places, but we are all Americans," says the story's moral message.

The schematic story of the Melting Pot can be interpreted in many ways, and those various interpretations can be used to support different attitudes about the relationship between language and nationality. In her analysis of political philosophy and public opinion on the Official English movement – also called English Only, especially by its opponents – Schildkraut (2005) identifies four widely held political ideologies, each related in some way to the Melting Pot narrative: liberalism, civic republicanism, ethnoculturalism, and incorporationism.

Liberalism, the political value most widely noted among Schildkraut's respondents, relates to the notion in the Melting Pot narrative that all individual Americans may pursue their own version of the American Dream. The concept of

liberalism, which may be defined in general terms as a political philosophy favoring

individual liberty, equality, and capitalism (Hartz 1955), has a long history and deep

effect on Anglo-American thought. For example, the assertion in the Declaration of

Independence that all men [sic] are created equal and endowed with life and liberty

by their creator echoes John Locke's suggestion that no person in a state of nature

"ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions: for men being all the

workmanship of one omnipotent, and infinitely wise maker" (Locke [1690] 2005:4).

In Locke's version of liberalism, every individual exercises sovereign power over his

or her own affairs, with disagreements decided by a civil government that gains its

power from the governed, as opposed to an absolute monarchy that wields power

granted by God.[27]

While liberalism, as a broad political and philosophical outlook buttressed by

more than three centuries of theoretical and practical argument, defies easy definition,

it generally rests on "the belief that each and every adult human is best able to

determine their own preferred life without interference from others," crucially

including interference from the state (Slaughter 2005).[28] The notion of neo-liberalism,

often discussed in relation to globalization and late modernity, is a version of

liberalism focusing particularly on economic issues. Neo-liberalism generally holds

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[27] Locke's vision of civil government is perhaps as relevant to civic republicanism as is his notion of liberty in a state of nature is to liberalism. Indeed, the political philosophies described here are not in direct opposition to one another. Schildkraut (2005) finds that most of her respondents subscribe to several of these positions, emphasizing them to various degrees.

[28] The challenge of defining *liberal* and *republican* is exacerbated by the fact that, in everyday political parlance in the United States, these words are used in ways nearly opposite to their definitions in the philosophical tradition sketched here. The Republican party, for example, is generally more associated with individual liberty and unfettered capitalism – that is, liberalism – than is its rival, the Democratic party. In turn, those Democrats who identify as Liberal may support constraints on private interests and the state to protect minority interests against domination, a view associated with republicanism.

that the state has neither the obligation nor the right to interfere in the affairs of individuals, especially in economic affairs. It therefore promotes capitalist entrepreneurship, which in practical terms tends to favor the already privileged. Those who bring fewer personal resources to a competitive economy in which no powerful entity, such as a state, promotes social welfare or equality are less likely to prosper under neo-liberalism. It is likely, however, that respondents in Schildkraut's study are as strongly affected by classical visions of liberalism that oppose liberty to feudalism or state-ism as they are by neo-liberalism with its opposition to socialism. As Louis Hartz suggested, in a period before neo-liberalism, the liberal tradition in America "begins with Locke, and thus transforms him, stays with Locke, by virtue of an absolute and irrational attachment it develops for him, and becomes as indifferent to the challenge of socialism in the later era as it was unfamiliar with the heritage of feudalism in the earlier one" (Hartz 1955).

Schildkraut (2005) finds frequent discussion of liberal political ideals in arguments surrounding US language policy. Liberalism is most often evoked in opposition to the Official English movement. The declaration of a single national language would impose this language on individual speakers in violation of classical liberal ideals. At the same time, however, liberalism is evoked in arguments in favor of Official English, as well. Under a neo-liberal view of individuals pursuing their own economic success, the imposition of English in the American public sphere becomes the provision of economic power to individual competitors in the global market. U.S. English, an advocacy group for Official English legislation, illustrates

this view when it casts its political activism as a means to support immigrants in a

neo-liberal marketplace.

> Without English, newcomers struggle to succeed
> economically, educationally, and are slower to see
> themselves as part of the American family. It is easy to
> see why 82 percent of the population, including a high
> percentage of immigrants, want to make English the
> official language of the United States. (U.S. English
> 2005)

Almost as frequent as appeals to liberalism in Schildkraut's study are

invocations of civic republicanism, a belief that it is the duty of citizens to contribute

to the public good via political participation. Steven Slaughter (2005) describes three

broad values that separate republicanism from liberalism. In terms of structure,

constitutional, as opposed to natural law disperses power throughout the state and

guards against individual interests that may oppose the public good. In terms of

oversight, the people not only elect representatives to form a government, but

maintain a level of power over that government through institutions such as freedom

of information, the public approval of legislation, and institutions such as courts that

are designed to amplify minority voices. Most importantly, in terms of citizenship

republican political philosophy requires "virtuous individual responsibility"

(Slaughter 2005:193) from all citizens. This political virtue consists of dedication to

the common good rather than individual gain, expressed via public contestation over

the nature of the greatest common good and the means to achieve it. The notions of

civic virtue and public construction of the common good are vital to a republican

democracy, since in the absence of authoritarian force the state is held together primarily by the consent of its citizens (Wood 1998).

As with liberalism, civic republicanism is used both to support and to oppose the establishment of an official language for the US state. Supporters of Official English suggest that the presence of languages other than English limits the quality of political participation. Since speakers of minority languages are less able to engage with arguments made in the language of the majority, goes the argument, political discussion should be limited to a single language in order to assure that all citizens participate in the spirit of virtuous individual responsibility. Opponents of the Official English movement counter that the exclusion of languages other than English from political argument limits the quantity of political participation by preventing some individuals from gaining access. Since the legitimacy of the republic requires the consent of the largest possible proportion of the governed, they argue, citizenship should not be limited to speakers of any particular language.

In addition to liberalism and civic republicanism, which concern the ideal conduct of citizenship and the state, Schildkraut notes two contrasting views on the nature of the ideal citizen. Ethnoculturalism is a view of nationality defined not in terms of political participation or legal citizenship but in terms of shared cultural practices and common ethnicity. Schildkraut (2005) suggests that discussions of nationality are always, at some level, discussions about identity, so it is predictable that ethnocultural images enter such discussions. In thinking about citizenship and the

nation-state, individuals look for a shared identity that defines the in-group and separates it from non-citizens. In this sense, ethnoculturalism is similar to nativism.

The notion of nativism is especially associated with anti-immigrant movements in the United States during the nineteenth century (Higham 2002). Nineteenth century American nativism combined an ethnocentric antipathy toward those who were not Protestant or Anglo-Saxon with a nationalist rejection of any group that maintained connection with a foreign nation or culture. This form of ethnocentric nationalism preceded the nativist movement of the anti-immigration American Party in the mid-nineteenth century, though (Higham 2002), and has reappeared periodically since then. The anti-immigration stance of many early twenty-first century populists is a recent reemergence of American nativism. A similar view seems to underlie Samuel Huntington's (1993) definition of "civilizations" as alliances of nation-states with similar cultures. Huntington suggests that while wars in past centuries were fought primarily over ideologies or economics, the conflicts of the twenty-first century will be fought over religion, language, and cultural traditions.

The ethnoculturalism that Schildkraut (2005) identifies is similar to nativism but is in some sense broader. Where nativism opposes immigration rights, citizenship, or other legal rights for those who are seen as loyal to other national cultures, ethno-culturalism sees as Other even those political insiders who are ethnic or cultural outsiders. That is, US citizens who are "not white, not Christian, and [do not speak] unaccented English" are viewed as insufficiently American (Schildkraut 2005: 52). Given the centrality of the Melting Pot narrative in American nationalist ideologies,

language becomes particularly salient to the view of cultural belonging. According to the "melting-as-cleansing" (Citrin et al. 1994) version of the Melting Pot ideology, individuals are cleansed of their foreign status when they become Americans. Since traits related to race are less easily scrubbed, cultural practices such as political participation and language use serve as important markers of American identity. As Haru Yamada puts it, "To be American is, then, to believe that unity can be achieved only if everyone speaks English" (1997: 143).

Schildkraut suggests that ethnoculturalism is balanced by a similarly widespread notion of incorporationism,[29] a conception of American identity as an aggregate of immigrant nationalities that relates to the beginning of the Melting Pot narrative (Americans come from various places), as well as its moral (we are all immigrants, but we are all Americans). Unlike liberalism, incorporationism focuses not on individuals but on the society they form. "The *individual* is not the central focus; our *immigrant legacy* and the resulting *cultural diversity* is" (Schildkraut 2005: 53, original emphasis). What all individual US citizens have in common, according to the incorporationist view, is a hyphen connecting a distinct ethnicity with a shared nationality: African-American, German-American, Native-American and so on.

Ethnoculturalism and incorporationism license different stances toward US language policy. The adoption of a version of Official English that allows English as the sole medium of political debate, public education, or other state activities is viewed favorably by those who consider non-English speakers or English speakers

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[29] In Schildkraut's public opinion surveys, ethnoculturalism and incorporationism each account for around 15% of responses to questions about "conceptions of American identity," compared to around 19% each for liberalism and civic republicanism. These figures alter slightly when different coding schemes are applied to the data. See Schildkraut (2005), Chapter 5.

who maintain ties to other nations via bilingualism as unauthentic Americans. In contrast, those who view the American nation-state as an aggregation of multiple nationalities tend to view individual bilingualism, as well as support for multiple languages within the state, as both consistent with American nationalism and advantageous to the political, economic, and military aims of the state.

As the diversity of nationalist ideologies described above suggests, opinions on US language policy are contentious. While the United States currently has no official language, about half of the individual states name English as their official language. (The actual count is complicated by states that have proposed but not yet voted to implement an official language policy, states whose language policies face court challenges, and states that give legal status to more than one language.) In contemporary political circles the Official English movement, as described above, seeks to name English as the official language of the US state, and is allied to various groups attempting to enact similar laws in the several states. At the same time, political organizations grouped under the heading of English Plus advocate "commitment to pluralism, tolerance, and diversity" (English Plus Information Clearinghouse (EPIC) 1987), and the maintenance and teaching of languages in addition to English. In a classic survey of multilingual communities in America, Joshua Fishman (1966) suggests that each of these positions has a long history in the United States. "Two processes – de-ethnization and Americanization on one hand, and cultural-linguistic self-maintenance on the other – are equally ubiquitous throughout all of American history" (Fishman 1966:15, cited in Spolsky 2004).

Bernard Spolsky (2004) divides US language policy debates into three historical eras. During its early years, a lack of legislation regarding language policy reflected the multilingual nature of the populace and a broad commitment to pluralism. A preference for state monolingualism emerged with anti-immigrant nativism in the nineteenth century and persisted until the end of the Second World War. Since then a strong commitment to pluralistic multilingualism as an expression of civil rights has been balanced by a similarly strong fear of Spanish monolingualism conditioned by changing patterns of immigration. Spolsky suggests that the failure to date of both the Official English movement and attempts to increase bilingual education show a continuing political tension (2004:111).

Let us turn from the political and philosophical ideologies underwriting the political movements of Official English and English Plus to their language ideologies. Both movements give English a central position in US language policy. This is unsurprising, given that English has been and continues to be the most widely spoken language in the United States, and the fact that English affords political and economic advantages not only within America but in much of the globalized urban world. The major difference between Official English and English Plus, then, is their position on multilingualism.

As described in section 4.2, two dominant language ideologies affect approaches to multilingual education in America. The belief that education should serve to bring minorities into line with the majority – what Heath (1977) terms the policy approach – leads educators and policy makers to gear education toward so-

called Limited English Proficiency students (LEPs). In educational policy from the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (Allende Brisk 1981) to the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (Abedi 2004), native speakers of languages other than English have been viewed in terms of limitation. The ideological assumption that speakers of languages other than English are limited or deficient has contributed to educational policies designed to transition as quickly as possible from bilingual to monolingual English medium of instruction. The result, not surprisingly, is subtractive bilingualism for non-English native speakers (Allende Brisk 1981; see also section 4.2). In contrast, the ideology of cultivation (Heath 1977) allows access to additional languages for native speakers of English who are afforded opportunities for language education.

Work by linguistic anthropologists and applied linguists shows that these language ideologies have especially negative effects on the education of students who speak stigmatized languages, especially working class Spanish speakers. In her study of Puerto Rican-Americans, Bonnie Urciuoli suggests, "Speaking a second language is legitimate only when it leaves no trace in one's English" (1996). Furthermore, traces ideologically associated with multilingualism may in fact derive from other aspects of being a "Marked American" (Urciuoli 1996), one whose ethnic or cultural identity is politically undervalued. As Susan Gal puts it, "Language ideologies are never only about language" (2005). Indeed, even among native speakers of English, perceptions of "accent" are rarely about phonology alone. As Rosina Lippi-Green points out, immigrants to the US from Great Britain are seldom stigmatized, even when their English usage causes communication breakdowns, while native English

speakers from South Asia are met "with a colder reception when communication

difficulties arise" (1997).

At the same time that political and language ideologies conspire to

marginalize native speakers of languages other than English, they provide a space for

native English speakers to acquire subsequent languages. The idea of language

education as cultivation (Heath 1977) is compatible with both the political ideologies

of civic republicanism and liberalism, especially neo-liberalism. The neo-liberal

emphasis on individual entrepreneurship and unfettered capitalism encourages people

to prepare themselves for global competition. Native speakers of English already

possess the symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1977a) required to access American

educational and political institutions, and are encouraged to further enrich themselves

by learning additional languages. At the same time, the ideology of global civic

republicanism (Slaughter 2005) suggests that engagement with cosmopolitan culture

is both a means of reinvigorating the state in the wake of neo-liberalism, and a means

to establish a global system of governance along republican lines, aimed at preventing

domination by any individual, state, or group. Engagement with others across the

boundary of the nation-state may be afforded by access to multiple languages, so that

language learning gains at least implicit support within a republican worldview.

As middle class subjects who command the preferred language of the nation-

state, members of LEX Language Project are in a position to acquire additional

languages as a form of cultivation. Although individual pursuit of multilingualism is

by no means assured – not everyone has the opportunity or the inclination to learn

additional languages – political and and language ideologies in the United States make such pursuit relatively more available to the English speaking middle-class population from which LEX Language Project members tend to come.

4.4. Seeing language through expert eyes

In this section we will return to actual talk from LEX Language Project members in which they display their own stances toward language learning. In Chapter 3 I related Hippo Family Club members' discourses on language learning to what I called a *language-as-script* ideology, and suggested that this ideology is a reaction against a *language-as-physics* discourse in Japanese schools. In contrast, US members display folk theories about language and education that resemble theories in academic fields such as linguistics and education. Unlike the sharp contrast that Hippo Family Club members in Japan draw between Hippo and traditional approaches to education, LEX Language Project members' stances align club practice more closely with academic and social institutions in the US.

Recall from section 4.2, above, that some LEX America staff and club members approached language learning, and particularly teaching, in ways that are not sharply distinguished from classroom pedagogy. In the after school program, LEX America staff member Kelly ran the ninety-minute meeting in a somewhat more direct manner than is typical of Hippo or LEX club facilitators. Kelly announced which activities would be carried out next, and instructed the nine- and ten-year-old participants in how to carry them out. At weekly LEX meetings, there is more group negotiation over the selection of activities, and even when facilitators plan activities

in advance, they propose them to the group with indirect language rather than announcing them as direct declarations. The children in the after school program also treated Kelly as an expert teacher, asking her questions and checking with her on the correctness of their linguistic production. Kelly allowed that there is some difference in the operation of the after school program and weekly LEX meetings, but saw no contradiction between the learning approach used at each venue.

While practice at ordinary weekly meetings was more egalitarian than that at the after school program, some members nonetheless preferred to treat the facilitators as authoritative figures, more like teachers than fellow members. Club member Earl, who treated weekly LEX meetings as an opportunity to improve the French language ability he had learned in school, lamented the fact that the facilitators at the meetings he attended did not try to correct his grammatical errors – an approach to language learning that would seem quite out of place at most Hippo meetings. Other members had varying expectations for how often and how explicitly facilitators or other club members should offer correction. Again, there is a difference in emphasis, but no sharp break between the practice of LEX meetings and that of 'traditional' foreign language classes.

In this section I present an analysis of discourse at a weekly LEX Language Project meeting. In the excerpt that follows, club members discuss "the Slavic languages" using terms reminiscent of academic discussions of historical linguistics or linguistic typology. In their discussion, members appeal to "an old system" that is

presumably known thanks to historical research, to the expert knowledge of "some linguists," and to my own status as a linguist.

Excerpt 4.1 begins with an attempt by club member Brandon to secure the floor. Brandon then suggests that the Ukrainian names of the cardinal numbers reflect historical patterning in the development of the Slavic language family. Other club members join the discussion, most of them framing their contributions in terms of their knowledge of history or of linguistic structures. Transcription conventions are listed in Appendix A.

Excerpt 4-1. Counting in Ukrainian, 2 September 2007

```
1    Brandon    the other thing about the [Slavic languages, they have
2    Anita                                 [it might be Korean actually
3    Anastasia  Korean?
4    Anita      it might be. 'Hippoe hawe nadri'
                                      (('Korean: 'Hippo goes overseas'))
5    Brandon    in- in- in- in Ukrain-
6    Anastasia  but is it a 'hwt'?
7    Anita      yeah that might be
8    Victoria   [hwt.
9    Brandon    [in in Ukrainian it odyn, dva, tres=
                                    (('one, two, *tres'))
10   Lara               [TRI       (('three'))
11   Victoria           [TRI       (('three'))
12   Brandon    tri, tri, cotyry    (('three, three, four'))
13   ((recording skips))
14   Victoria   sist,               (('six'))
15   Brandon    sim, visim          (('seven, eight'))
16   ((recording skips))
17   Brandon    so, what do you=
18   Victoria   vi:sim              (('eight'))
19   Brandon    visim, does that meaning anything?
20   Anastasia  visim?
21   Brandon    that- in other words, that eight contains seven.
22   Anastasia  No. sim, visim. Oh.
23   Brandon    You see- there was something about- there are some-
                there were-
24   Brandon    like linguists say that there may have been an old
                system ba- based on counting to eight.
25   Nadine     [VII:SII::
26   Victoria   [visim's eight.
27   Victoria   visim's eight.
```

```
28   Brandon   and then
29   Nadine    I wanna do this
30   Brandon   and then that's why
31   Victoria  <devijat, [desijat>            (('nine, ten'))
32   Brandon             [devijat and desijat (('nine and ten'))
33   Brandon   in other words, there was always sort of a 'hey a nine,
               ten'
34   Brandon   and then in some eight
35   Brandon   in other words
36   Anastasia [°(so what is it)°
37   Nadine    [(mommy I um)
38   Brandon   th- th- th- it was this idea that someti-
39   Brandon   th- there was- originally people counted to eight.
40   Brandon   they only counted on their fingers and not [the thumbs
41   Anastasia                                           [and not on
42   Brandon   and so, there are a lot of languages where
43   Lara      you just eight
44   Brandon   where the progression of the numbers seems to suggest
               that eight was a big deal
45   Brandon   and not just ten getting a big deal. um.
46   Brandon   and so that [sim visim      (('seven eight'))
47   Anastasia             [you should know ((points to Chad))
48   Anastasia hhh
49   Brandon   you know in other words [why make a special effort to
               have eight
50   Victoria                          [sim visim devijat desijat
                                        (('seven eight nine ten'))
51   Brandon   be one more than seven
```

At the beginning of this excerpt, there are two parallel events occurring. Present at the meeting are Anita, the facilitator; Anastasia, Brandon, Lara, Victoria, and Nadine, a family of five; as well as Earl, Nick, and me. Brandon attempts to secure the floor, while Anita and Anastasia are still still discussing a previous topic. Just prior to the start of the excerpt, Anita has asked if anyone would like to request the language to be used for 'mimicking,' the same activity that is called *metakatsu* at Japanese club meetings. Anastasia has suggested that she finds one of the recordings interesting because it contains sounds not found in English, but she doesn't know what language it is. Anastasia produces a rounded glottal fricative followed by alveolar stop closure, perhaps attempting to mimic the voiceless palatal fricative in

Korean *hippo*.[30] Anita suggests that the language in question may be Korean (lines 2-7).

Before Anita and Anastasia have concluded their discussion, Brandon attempts to take the floor. At line one, Brandon announces his topic as "the other thing about the Slavic languages." By labeling the topic "the other thing," Brandon ties the topic back to an earlier part of the meeting. Approximately two minutes earlier, we had been practicing counting to ten in several languages, including Ukrainian. Following counting practice in Arabic and Mandarin, Anita suggested that the group listen to some LEX recordings. She asked, "Any other languages people want to hear?" thereby licensing Anastasia's speculation about which language might have the unfamiliar fricative sound she found interesting. Brandon orients the talk in his bid to take the floor not to that discussion of speech sounds, but to the earlier counting in Ukrainian. Note that Brandon does not explicitly name his topic as "Ukrainian" but a more general "the Slavic languages," a point to which we will return below.

Brandon's initial attempt to take the floor proves unsuccessful, as Anita overlaps him at line two with a candidate answer for Anastasia's question about speech sounds. (The precise wording of Anastasia's question is difficult to reconstruct because two-year-old Nadine speaks quite loudly, overlapping her mother on the recording.) Anita's contribution at line four provides an answer to Anastasia's clarification question at line three; Anita's answer is also syntactically complete and ends with falling intonation. This is a Complex Transition Relevance Place (Ford and

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[30]   In Korean the palatal fricative [ç] is an allophone of the glottal fricative /h/ which appears immediately before the vowel /i/ (Song 2005).

Thompson 1996), a point where pragmatic, syntactic, and prosodic cues combine to make it is especially likely for a new speaker to take the floor. Unfortunately for Brandon, Anastasia has a further request for clarification, which Anita again answers (lines 6-7).

Brandon tries to introduce his topic a third time at line nine. He suggests, "In Ukrainian it's *odyn, dva, tres*" (one, two, tres). Again Brandon's attempt is thwarted, this time by his own mispronunciation of the the Ukrainian word *tri* (three). His daughters Lara (age 9) and Victoria (8) correct his error, loudly and in unison (lines 10-11). Fortunately for Brandon, this repair relates only to the form of his topic proffer, not to its content. At line 12 he repeats the girls' *tri* and continues counting. There are some technical problems with the recording at this point, but it is clear that Brandon and Victoria have together counted either to eight or to ten in Ukrainian. The precise number reached is not vital to Brandon's talk at this stage, nor to this analysis of it.

During previous weeks Lara and Victoria have produced various pieces of talk in Ukrainian, including a poem, a song, and counting from one to ten. Lara, Victoria, and Nadine's grandmother, Anastasia's mother, is apparently from Ukraine and is a native speaker of Ukrainian. Anastasia appears to be fluent in Ukrainian. Brandon has some knowledge of Ukrainian; he has also mentioned during weeks past that he lived for a time in Prague and has some knowledge of Czech, another Slavic language.

Following Brandon and Victoria's counting in Ukrainian, Brandon asks Anastasia, "Visim, does that mean anything?" This cannot be intended literally as

asking whether *visim* has semantic meaning, since Brandon has just used the word in an appropriate way and so appears to understand its meaning. Therefore, Anastasia requests an expansion by asking, "Visim?" Brandon suggests that his question is really whether the fact "that eight contains seven" is significant. Anastasia immediately answers, "No," but after repeating the words "sim, visim" she says, "Oh." This word is frequently deployed to acknowledge that an interlocutor's talk is significant or newsworthy (Heritage 1984b, Gardner 2001) and may be an indication that Anastasia has noticed the similarity between *sim* and *visim* that Brandon suggests is meaningful.

Brandon has a theory, which we may summarize as: The formal similarity between *sim* and *visim* suggests that the latter word was derived from the former. Brandon tries to validate his theory by appealing to academic authority: "Linguists say that there may have been an old system based on counting to eight" (line 24). Brandon explicitly grants authority to "linguists." His suggestion that there was "an old system" further aligns him with studies of history and diachronic linguistics.

Recall that Brandon has framed this talk not specifically as a discussion of Ukrainian but of "the Slavic languages" (line 1). Both the discussion of regularity across languages and the use of the term *Slavic languages* align Brandon's talk with academic authority. In advertising and other discourses produced by LEX Institute and Hippo Family Club in Japan, we saw an ambivalent stance toward academic authority. In discussions of first language acquisition or innate linguistic potential, the explanations produced by Hippo Family Club resemble those produced by linguists

and psychologists, though such scholarly work is seldom cited directly. At the same time, Hippo explicitly rejects educational practices that it labels 'traditional' academic approaches. In contrast to the ambivalence of these discourses in Japan, Brandon is happy to present his talk not as a natural discovery of his own or of the group's, but as expert knowledge discovered by linguists studying diachronic or typological data.

Brandon suggests another theory for the resemblance of *sim* (seven) and *visim* (eight) at lines 38-40. This time he suggests a physically embodied rationale for this linguistic state of affairs: "Originally people counted to eight. They only counted on their fingers and not the thumbs." Again he does not frame this as his own speculation, but as an idea attributable to others. "It was this idea" (line 38), presumably discussed by scholars such as those he has evoked so far. Continuing at lines 42-45, Brandon expands "this idea" beyond the Slavic languages. "There are a lot of languages where the progression of the numbers seems to suggest that eight was a big deal, and not just ten." The suggestion that "this idea" derives from cross-linguistic analysis again suggests formal study of large data sets. While no specific data is offered, Brandon proposes that there is a resemblance between the words for seven and eight in "a lot of languages" (line 42). Far from hewing to 'natural' practices and rejecting the analysis of vocabulary and grammar, as Hippo discourse in Japan suggests is proper, Brandon places his own understanding of language within a scholarly tradition. His talk here both appeals to the authority of "linguists" and expands that discourse with his own synthesis of knowledge from various academic domains.

Nowhere in this discussion do other club members explicitly object to Brandon's meta-linguistic talk. Nick and Earl do not contribute to the discussion, remaining silent throughout. Other members, though, contribute their own expert knowledge. Victoria emphasizes the fact that her own knowledge of Ukrainian is superior to her father's by carefully pronouncing and glossing the names of the cardinal numbers (lines 18, 26-27, and 31). Even little Nadine gets into the act by parroting her older sister's talk at line 25. In talk immediately following that transcribed here, club facilitator Anita seems to accept Brandon's finger-counting theory when she suggests, "In India people count the joints of their fingers." Anastasia makes my own standing as a linguist and a graduate student relevant when she points at me and says, "You should know."[31]

While this exchange is particularly clear in its appeals to linguistics and other academic fields, it is not the only time that typological knowledge was referenced at club meetings. Luke, a long-time club member, demonstrated a similar understanding the first time he met Anastasia. Upon learning that she spoke Ukrainian, Luke asked Anastasia, "What's the basic expression?" Through her facial expression, Anastasia made it clear that she did not understand what he meant by "basic expression." Luke suggested, "Like Russian is *dobry den*" (good afternoon). Anastasia offered *dobryj* (good (day)), which Luke compared to Polish *dzein dobry* (good day). Much like a field linguist, Luke attempted to approach a new language by comparing it to what he knew of other languages from the same geographical area and language family. Although he did not employ technical vocabulary such as *cognate* or *phonology*, he

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[31]   I don't.

reasoned from the similarity of these expressions in Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian that the forms of certain words in Ukrainian would show particular correspondences with similar words in the other languages. He did not, however, test this theory with any actual predictions.

In this chapter we have noted basic similarities, as well as some specific differences, between the ideologies of language education displayed by LEX Language Project members in the United States and Hippo Family Club members in Japan. In both settings, LEX/Hippo activities are positioned as a fun and effective way to learn new languages. Members in each area participate together in a mutually-supportive, egalitarian structure with little explicit concern for differences in ability or status. While Japanese members and official club materials described Hippo activities as distinct from 'traditional' classroom practice, however, American club members showed no particular desire to distance club activities from those in schools. Some club members seemed to want to bring their practices closer to traditional lessons, for example in requesting explicit correction of grammatical errors. LEX America even operates an after school program in conjunction with a local public elementary school.

The language ideologies of LEX Language Project members align with a dominant ideology of language learning in the United States known as the *cultivation approach* (Heath 1977). According to the cultivation approach, learning foreign languages is a means for English speakers to increase the breadth of their academic knowledge and to cultivate their own intellectual strengths. In Chapter Three I argued

that Japanese Hippo members share a view of *language as script*, which contrasts with the *language-as-physics* ideology in Japanese schools. In contrast, the ideologies of LEX Language Project members are shared by many Americans, including many teachers, school administrators, and political agents of language and educational policy.

I have argued that the cultivation approach finds support in many broader political ideologies in the United States. Classical liberalism, civic republicanism, and incorporationism (Schildkraut 2005) are each compatible with the provision of multilingual ability to middle class subjects. At the same time, slightly different interpretations of liberalism and republicanism can be used to support arguments for establishing a single national language. Promotion of a single, unifying language also finds support in the ideology of ethnoculturalism (Schildkraut 2005), which suggests that shared culture is a defining characteristic of American nationality. Liberalism, republicanism, ethnoculturalism, and incorporationism are each visible within surveys of public opinion on language policy, with none gaining a clear plurality (Schildkraut 2005). The conflict between the desire for cultural unification on one hand and multicultural maintenance on the other is a long-standing tension in US history (Fishman 1966, Spolsky 2004). This tension helps explain why educational policy is often geared toward the provision of English (monolingual) ability for non-native speakers, even as it encourages multilingual ability for native speakers of English (Heath 1977, Allende Brisk 1981, Spolsky 2004, inter alia).

LEX Language Project members' views of multilingualism fit well with some ideologies of language, education, and culture in the United States. By couching their discussion of multilingualism in terms of 'tolerance,' for example, members align with contemporary discourses of liberal multicultural identities (Brown 2006). As Wendy Brown argues, the discourse of tolerance entails certain political, social, and cultural norms, and places a form of liberalism as the unmarked position from which to regard, and to tolerate, others. As middle-class, suburban, English-speaking Americans, LEX club members are in a normative, unmarked social position. Their expressions of tolerance, like their ideologies of language learning, are a reflection of the positions from which they regard their society.

I have also argued in the chapter that, unlike Hippo Family Club members in Japan, the discourse of LEX Language Project members shows no discomfort with educational tradition or academic expertise. Even though Hippo club members in Japan sometimes align with expert theories, especially those concerning first language acquisition, official LEX Institute materials produced in Tokyo oppose Hippo's 'natural' activities with those of 'traditional' schooling. In contrast, LEX Language Project members explicitly appeal to linguistics and to other academic theories in their discussions of language structure and language education.

In Chapter Five, "Perceptions of similarity and difference," I turn from my own observation of the relationship between Japanese and American club discourses to the differences noted by club members in each location. During participant observation in Yokohama, Osaka, and Massachusetts, members

occasionally noted differences between the Japanese and the American clubs, sometimes asking me why I thought such differences existed, and sometimes offering their own theories. In the next chapter I relate these differences to different relationships with educational authority in each nation-state. Japanese educational discourse has long been centrally controlled, making Hippo Family Club's democratic, egalitarian approach appear radical and new. In the US, however, local control of educational policy and relatively public arguments over approaches position the LEX approach as another chapter in an ongoing history.

"So this is America? Everything is so big. ... In Japan cars go on the left side."
(track 6, *Hippo Goes Overseas*)

5.1. Hippo and LEX: 'A little bit different'

While I was staying in the home of a Hippo Family Club facilitator in eastern Japan she asked me why I thought the US clubs had changed their name. As recently as the fall of 2005, when I first became interested in Hippo Family Club, both the Japanese and US clubs used that name. By the time I visited Massachusetts in September of 2006, though, they were transitioning to the name LEX Language Project. I suggested that the faux-Latin *LEX* sounds more serious and academic, and therefore may be more acceptable to American audiences. While it appears to be based on the Latin word *lex* (law), the name LEX is actually a coinage created by Japanese club founder Yo Sakakibara from the English words "Language Experience, Experiment, and Exchange" (LEX Language Project 2007). My host found it odd that a club that emphasizes fun should not have a fun name but should try to present itself as serious. It is not unusual for 'serious' organizations in Japan, such as banks, insurance companies, or pharmaceutical manufacturers, to have cute cartoon icons (section 5.2, below). In contrast, such images are usually reserved for products aimed at young children in the US. I suggested that the use of fun or cute labels may be off-putting for American parents and potential members who think of foreign-language learning as edifying and enriching.

At another club, members were discussing the differences between Japanese and North American schools. The club facilitator noted that although both Japan and the US have twelve years of combined elementary and secondary education,

American schools number those years consecutively as first grade through twelfth grade, while Japan divides them into six years of *shougakkou* (elementary school), three years of *chuugakkou* (middle school), and three years of *koutougakkou* (higher secondary school), also called *koukou* (high school), and restarts the numbering with first grade at each level. She asked me how to say *sukoshizutsu chigau* (each differs slightly) in English; I suggested "a little bit different." Perhaps because of the sound of the words – initial *l*, flapped *t*, and syllabic *l* do not appear in Japanese – the club members took a liking to the expression and over the next several days delighted in pointing out things that were "a little bit different" outside of Japan.

As my hosts' questions suggest, although members of Hippo Family Club in Japan and LEX Language Project in the US regard their club chapters as facets of the same organization, they are aware of differences in each location. In this chapter I will describe minor differences in club practice between Japan and the United States. Many of the differences described in this chapter were mentioned during my fieldwork by members who had participated in Hippo activities on both sides of the Pacific through home-stay or other travel abroad. I will argue that these differences relate to the different cultural and historical settings within which LEX and Hippo clubs are situated, and especially to different educational discourses in each area. In Japan, where the control of school curricula and textbooks has been highly centralized in the Ministry of Education at least since the end of the American post-war occupation, Hippo Family Club's approach to language learning is seen as a revolutionary break with mainstream educational discourses. In the US, on the other

hand, where schools are controlled by local school boards over which parents and other citizens have a relatively greater say, LEX-style learning fits within a polyvocal discourse on educational practice.

In section 5.2, I will begin with a discussion of the culture of 'cute' in Japan. Beginning with youth movements and youth-oriented products in the 1970s, and continuing today through consumer products and advertising campaigns for all manner of products, services, and organizations, 'cute' has emerged as a common attribute with which to position items for consumption in Japan (Kinsella 1995, McVeigh 2000, Black 2008). Additionally, the association of 'cute' with adult as well as juvenile femininity (Kinsella 1995, Miller 2006) fits well with both stereotypical associations of language work as women's work (Pavlenko 2001, Schmenk 2004) and the fact that most Hippo Family Club chapters are actually lead by women. Notwithstanding a similar association of language learning and of elementary education generally with women in the United States, educational products in the US are generally marketed by appealing to notions of cultural or scholarly tradition, not youth or femininity. The positioning of LEX Language Project and Hippo Family Club in distinct educational and consumer landscapes, therefore, accounts for some of the difference noted by American and Japanese club members.

In section 5.3 the discussion turns from the effects of consumer discourses on the marketing of language education to the effects of political traditions on both the understanding and the practice of education in Japan and the United States. In Japan today decisions regarding the number of contact hours, the content of curriculum, and

the selection of textbooks are primarily controlled from the national level, by the

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (Stevenson and

Nerison-Low 2002, Butler and Iino 2005). With the exception of a brief period at the

beginning of the US occupation after the Second World War, education in Japan has

been centrally controlled since the Meiji Restoration in the late nineteenth century

(Horio 1988, James and Benjamin 1988). Debate over the content or practice of

education has generally occurred either within the Ministry, or in challenges to the

Ministry's control from the national teachers' union; individual citizens have rarely

objected to this strong centralization (James and Benjamin 1988). This contrasts with

the situation in the United States, where schools are controlled by local boards of

education that are envisioned both in terms professional management and local

democratic governance (Tracy 2007). Both materials and curricula are left to local

control in the US system (Stevenson and Nerison-Low 2002). Various educational

philosophies have vied with one another in the US since the nineteenth century

(Chung and Walsh 2000), and there is no federal mechanism for developing any

standard approach (Stevenson and Nerison-Low 2002).

Against these different backgrounds, the practice of LEX/Hippo style learning

is understood rather differently in Japan and the United States. In the former, the

relatively democratic "no teachers" approach is seen as a sharp departure from

traditional education. Hippo's rejection of 'tradition' therefore distinguishes it from a

large field of private educational institutions with broadly similar philosophies that

tend to stick closely to the Ministry-recommended curriculum (James and Benjamin

1988). Against the background of diverse competing philosophies in the US, though, Hippo activities appear as the latest in a history of experimental approaches. American members justify the LEX approach to language learning by appeal to other academic and scientific discourses.

5.2. The culture of 'cute'

While the name *Hippo Family Club* suggests an activity for families to engage in together, it gives no indication that those activities center primarily around learning foreign languages. There are a number of stories that purport to explain how this name was selected. The first explanation I heard from a Hippo club member was that the club's founder had a young daughter who liked hippos, and the club was named at her whim. Another explanation holds that the name is a kind of word play: when the syllables of the Japanese word for hippopotamus, *kaba*, are inverted they form *baka* (fool, idiot). Therefore, Hippos are the opposite of fools. The most convincing account of how the name was selected, one that I have heard from a several club facilitators and long-term members, suggests a different sort of word play. The first meeting of what was to become Hippo Family Club was held at a resort called *shirakaba* (white birch). Over the course of the retreat, puns based on *kaba* in the sense of either 'birch tree' or 'hippopotamus' and plays on *baka* (fool) abounded, until it was eventually decided to use *hippo* in the name of the new organization. Whatever the actual source, Hippo Family Club is clearly a playful and cute name.

Such cute names are comparatively rare in the United States except as the names of media products or consumer goods aimed at young children. Education and

education-related products in particular tend to be positioned via associations with the middle- and upper-classes, historical tradition, bureaucratic standardization, and the 'scholarly' European languages of Latin and Greek. An unsystematic look at school names, for example, suggests a preponderance of personal names, especially the names of presidents or other national leaders (examples in my local school district include *Eisenhower* and *Douglass*), or simple geographic descriptors (e.g. *Bear Creek* and *Southern Hills*). This is true of private schools and educational camps as well (e.g. *Shining Mountain Waldorf School*, or numerous Montessori schools named for educational philosopher Maria Montessori). There is a strong sense of tradition, too, in the names of non-school learning services such as *Sylvan Learning*, a chain of tutoring centers whose name seems to allude to Shakespeare and Alexander Pope as well as the forest primeval, or *Rosetta Stone*, a company that sells language-learning materials for individual study or homeschooling and which is named for the multilingual Ptolemaic stele translated by French and British orientalist philologists.

Even products marketed to parents of small children in the US attempt to appeal to scholarly tradition. The *Baby Einstein* collection of products and toys for children from the age of 3 months are generally named for elite European scholars and artists. In addition to Einstein, there are products called *Baby Galileo, Baby DaVinci, Baby Shakespeare, Baby Mozart, Baby Beethoven,* and *Baby Monet* among others, suggesting that parents can provide their children access to an elite sphere of historical thinkers via consumption and education.

In sharp contrast to American products whose names allude to tradition and erudition, many products or services in Japan are marketed using juvenile images that seem to have no clear connection to the nature of the product. Sharron Kinsella (1995) notes twenty-three banks, fourteen stock trading companies, and seven insurance companies marketing their services with the use of cartoon characters licensed from Sanrio. Sanrio was originally a Japanese stationary supplier, but since the 1970s it has earned the bulk of its income by licensing *kyarakutaa guzzu* (character goods), saccharine cartoon images it creates for the "retail-first" market (McVeigh 2000). Retail-first images are created specifically for use on retail goods, unlike character properties adapted from books, movies, or other media. Kinsella identifies the appetite for character goods as part of the *kawaii* style, or cute style, that dominated Japanese consumer culture in the 1980s and remains popular today.

According to Laura Miller (2006), the "cult of cuteness" emerged as a fashion aesthetic in Japan during the 1970s and 80s, driven by images of young girls or of women posing as girls, first in comic books and pornography and then in other media and popular fashion styles. Kinsella (1995) suggests that 'cute' was originally a grassroots movement that emerged among young women in schools, but that it was quickly co-opted by marketers. Cute fashion offers juvenile images in pink and pastel colors, usually decorated with cartoon characters. While contemporary fashion markets a range of styles to Japanese women and girls, cuteness remains as one approved form of femininity. Brian McVeigh (2000) suggests that cute designs and characters are so ubiquitous in contemporary Japan that even people who profess a

Figure 5.1. Advertisement for Hello Kitty picture club (McVeigh 2000).

Figure 5.2. Sato-kun and Satoko-chan, the elephant mascots of Sato Pharmaceuticals (sato-seiyaku.co.jp).

dislike for Hello Kitty (figure 5.1) and other cute characters admit to owning

'character goods' because the images' popularity makes them 'cool.' In contemporary

Japan, cute style is used not only to market consumer goods aimed at children or

young women, but also to soften or conceal the image of police departments

(McVeigh 2000), financial institutions (Kinsella 1995), pharmaceutical companies

(figure 5.2), or other non-cute enterprises.

There appears to be an association between the cute aesthetic and a desire for

things foreign. McVeigh notes that the name Hello Kitty not only uses English words

but is often written in the Roman alphabet "to add a foreign, exotic flavor" (2000:

226). Kinsella (1995) argues that cute handwriting developed among young women

as a rejection Japanese tradition.

> The horizontal left to right format of cute handwriting
> and the liberal use of exclamation marks, as well as
> English words such as 'love' and 'friend', suggest that
> these young people were rebelling against traditional
> Japanese culture and identifying with European culture

which they obviously imagined to be more fun.
(Kinsella 1995: 224).

French or English words also appear frequently as legends on cute household goods. A set of teddy-bear shaped magnets declare, "Be absorbed in sweet memories then you will be a part of the nature" (Engrish.com 2009). While native English speakers may view such usage as "humorous English mistakes" (Engrish.com 2009), from the perspective of the manufacturers and consumers of such goods in Japan, there is no mistake. English or pseudo-English words are used not to communicate with foreigners but to index international or modern style within Japan. Backhaus (2007) similarly notes that advertisements and signs around Tokyo frequently display foreign, especially European, languages alongside Japanese text, with the Japanese text delivering the message and the foreign text adding a sense of style. Like foreign words and orthographies, cute products forge a link between Japanese consumers and an imagined world of late modernity and globalization.

The name *Hippo Family Club* references both cuteness and foreignness by referring to a rotund animal not found in Japan and by using English words to name a Japanese club. The images of hippos that occasionally appear on club materials or at chapter meetings (figure 5.3) are always whimsical and anthropomorphic, with a lack of anatomical detail similar to that commonly seen in character goods (Black 2008).

Figure 5.3. A multilingual anthropomorphic hippopotamus (hipposingapore.org).

The names of individual chapters and the nicknames of members in Japan are also whimsical, tending toward cuteness. As described in Chapter 1, many club names are based on foreign words, usually combined with the English word *Family*. For example, I participated with a club in eastern Japan called Éminent Family. This name combines the French word *éminent* (eminent) and the English word *family*. It is, at the same time, a pun, since the club's facilitator and founding member is a woman named Emiko. This pun is made clear by writing the name using two different Japanese syllabaries so that *Emi* uses a different script than the rest of the word: エミなん F. Note also that the English word *Family* is so commonly used that it is typically abbreviated with the single Roman character *F*. This punning on foreign words is also apparent in *Konton Family*, mentioned in Chapter 1 as a pun on French *content* (happy) and Japanese *konton* (chaos). Not all names based on foreign words are puns, however. Many names are simply single words with positive connotations, followed by the English *family*. Examples include *Araso Family* (Korean: "I understand") and *Hallo-Hallo Family*, which may derive from any of a number of cognate greetings in various European languages. Cuteness appears again in the written form of this club's

name, rendered with a playful mixture of katakana – the syllabary traditionally used for foreign loan words – roman alphabet, and mathematical notation as ハロ² F.

According to the LEX Language Project's web page, one of the first US clubs had a similarly playful name: *Belmont Tomodachi*[32], which combines the club's location in Belmont, Massachusetts, with the Japanese word meaning "friends" (LEX Language Project 2007). Although the LEX Language Project website at one time listed similar names consisting of Japanese or Korean words for the various chapters, I did not hear members use these names during my time with them. They typically referred simply to "Club" or occasionally to "Hippo," or referred to meeting locations in order to distinguish one group from another. The LEX Language Project website currently refers to each meeting by location and time, rather than with chapter nicknames.

Similarly, individual members of Japanese clubs often have playful and cute nicknames, while members of US clubs generally refer to one another by their given names. As with the names of club chapters, many members' nicknames are based on foreign words, and some are puns. Examples of such nicknames include *Kakak* (Indonesian: "Sister"), *Baozi* (the name of a popular Chinese food) and *Mariposa* (Spanish: "Butterfly"), three members I met in eastern Japan. The nickname Mariposa is doubly meaningful, since it is a Spanish word, but also resembles Mariposa's given name, *Mari*. This sort of punning is also apparent in *Mikan*, which means "tangerine" in Japanese but also resembles the club member's given name.

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[32]   Like Konton Family, Belmont Tomodachi is an actual chapter name; the others are pseudonyms based on actual chapter names.

On two separate occasions, members of US clubs speculated as to why Japanese members use nicknames, offering strikingly similar reasoning. Both of these members had spent time working in Japan, one as an English teacher and one as a translator. Each noted that, where Americans refer to acquaintances as well as friends using their given names, Japanese people typically refer to colleagues and other acquaintances using family names, usually marked with honorific suffixes. One of the US members further speculated that it must be uncomfortable to participate in children's games while affecting such a formal demeanor. Therefore, she suggested, the use of cute nicknames allows Japanese members to act in a distinct guise that is appropriate to Hippo activities.

Although cuteness seems appropriate to play, and Hippo club members found it entirely natural that their activities should be so framed, the cute aesthetic is not without its critics. Miller (2004) notes that cute handwriting, with its imagined links to European languages, is a frequently criticized aspect of *burriko* style. The *burriko* (fake child) is an adult woman criticized for taking cute style to extremes, not only dressing 'cute' and owning character goods, but also speaking in 'baby talk' and otherwise affecting an insistently juvenile pose. Kinsella (1995) notes that cute style was especially criticized by conservative intellectuals during the 1980s, who saw young women's embrace of childish images as a rejection of their traditionally approved roles as wives and mothers. Japanese women find themselves in a double bind, censured as 'tasteless' (Okamoto 1995) for failing to index stereotypical

femininity in their speech styles, yet charged as inauthentic *burriko* when they

produce either excessive or innovative feminine forms (Miller 2004).

The cute aesthetic counters staid images of tradition, much as Hippo Family

Club positions its learning style as a rejection of 'traditional' approaches to foreign

language teaching and learning. Whether it is seen as a rejection of traditional gender

and labor roles (Kinsella 1995), an ironic statement on gender positioning and

consumerism (McVeigh 2000), or a point of tension between tradition and innovation

(Miller 2004, Black 2008), 'cute' signals a position outside of conservative discourses.

Cuteness is thus a convenient way to signal distance from historical nationalist

discourses that celebrate monolingualism (Chapter 3).

Gender stereotypes appear both in links between femininity and cuteness, and

between women and language education. Foreign language education is often viewed

as the domain of women students and teachers, a view that Barbara Schmenk (2004)

relates to gender stereotypes in popular understandings and to chains of problematic

assumptions underlying academic study.

> Concerning the belief that language learning is a
> feminine domain, at least three aspects could be related
> to stereotyping: (a) the claim that gender is a
> differentiating variable, (b) the claim that language
> learning success is causally linked to a person's gender,
> and (c) the observation that girls and women worldwide
> tend to study languages more often than boys and men
> do. (Schmenk 2004: 517)

Although it has not always been taken up by researchers in second language

acquisition, most work on language and gender since the 1990s challenges the

assumption that women and men comprise distinct groups in terms of language behavior and therefore that gender is an essential variable in language learning (Erhlich 1997, Pavlenko and Piller 2001). As Schmenk points out, claims that girls (or in some cases, boys) are superior language learners are based on chains of problematic and often inconsistent theories. "As a result, language learning itself appears to be gendered; it is feminized" (Schmenk 2004: 519).

Aneta Pavlenko (2001) surveys studies on the effects of gender on bilingualism, multilingualism, and language shift. She emphasizes the fact that, just as gender is a socially constructed position, the meaning of which varies from one sociocultural setting to another, the relationships between gender and multilingualism are highly variable. In some settings, bilingualism or multilingualism is associated with men, while in others it is associated with women. In many societies, though, language work such as contributions to children's literacy learning, the transmission of preferred language varieties, or the maintenance of home languages are considered "women's work" (Pavlenko 2001: 135).

According to a long-time Hippo Family Club participant I interviewed, one who was with the club from the very beginnings of the organization, gender and ethnic stereotypes were very much on the mind of Hippo's founder. Yo Sakakibara, the son of progressive Japanese intellectuals, envisioned learning multiple languages as a means of promoting ethnic and gender equality. According to my informant, who was a childhood friend of Sakakibara and an early supporter of his efforts, bilingualism was considered "shallow" and unbecoming of Japanese intellectuals in

the mid-twentieth century. As a result, my informant suggests, most interpreters and translators in Japan were women. Also during this time many Japanese people saw ethnic Koreans as "subhuman." My informant described "Yo's discovery of Korea." Sakakibara imagined what would happen to Japanese people who discovered family connections to Korean individuals. He envisioned family-to-family connections between Japanese and Koreans as a way to foment political and racial liberalization. Sakakibara set out to teach English, Spanish, and Korean together in order to "throw out utility" and encourage students to see languages as intrinsically valuable. I note that while members of Hippo Family Club today seem to view languages as intrinsically valuable and celebrate their relationships with fellow club members in other parts of the world, that membership still includes somewhat more women than men.

In Hippo Family Club today, although the senior staff members of LEX Institute in Tokyo are primarily men, Hippo Fellows, the facilitators of individual chapters throughout Japan, are overwhelmingly women. In fact, every chapter I participated with had a female fellow. In two of these chapters the fellow's husband served as de-facto associate leader, but even in those cases the fellow was both officially recognized as the group facilitator and most often looked to for leadership. Similarly, a Fellows' Workshop I observed in Tokyo in 2008 was attended by some 400-500 Hippo members from all over eastern Japan. According to a LEX Institute staff member I spoke with after the workshop, most of the attendees were in fact club fellows. Within the sea of faces in the large meeting hall were only a handful of men.

At this workshop, at least, men appeared to comprise no more than ten percent of club fellows.

Among ordinary members, too, adult women tend to outnumber adult men. In Karagoku Family, for example, there were two fathers who regularly attended weekly meetings with their children, Tanaka-papa and Hiro-chan. Both were roughly as active in the club as their wives, Sky and Mikan, though Sky is an especially active Hippo Fellow. In addition, there was one single man, Kuma, whose adult children did not participate in meetings. Including me, there were a total of four adult men. On the other hand, in addition to Sky and Mikan, four adult women, Tomazo, Kamachan, Yashi, and Amayou, regularly attended with their children. The presence of two unaccompanied men gave Karagoku a relatively balanced gender representation; at clubs I visited there were generally one and a half to three times as many women present as men.

This gender integrated but slightly feminized world may be particularly empowering for the women who serve as fellows. Club materials and members' talk stress the fact that there are no teachers at Hippo, and that all members are equal. Even the title *Hippo Fellow* is designed to promote this idea of equality among members and leaders. Just the same, members generally look to the fellows to start the meetings, transition to new activities, ensure equal participation during talk time, and generally see that the meetings go off smoothly. Fellows also receive some portion of the dues that members of their chapter pay to LEX Institute, though it was not clear to me how much money this amounts to. In any case, the opportunity to

serve as locally powerful figures, and to be recognized for such service with financial reward is generally not as readily available to Japanese women as it is to men in the work place (Ashikari 2003; Inoue 2006).

As in Japan, where the majority of chapter facilitators are women, in the United States all four chapters are operated by women. Yet there is no push to position the clubs as 'cute'; indeed, the organization changed its name from Hippo Family Club to the more serious-sounding LEX Language Project. In addition to the relative lack of cute culture in the US compared to Japan, two other factors may account for the difference in naming and positioning. First, club facilitators in the US are relatively professionalized. In Japan, Hippo Fellows are not employed by LEX Institute, but receive a portion of the membership dues payed by the members of the clubs they operate. In the US, on the other hand, three of the four club chapters are operated by LEX America staff members. These members work in the organization's offices full time, and facilitate a club chapter in addition to their regular duties. The fourth club facilitator works in an administrative office in a local college and operates a LEX chapter in the evening. This fact may give LEX Language Project chapters in the US more of a sense of being a professional educational service. It is therefore not surprising that their naming and marketing should resemble that of other services, including that of for-profit companies.

The second factor that may account for the lack of cuteness in US clubs is the fact that the membership of LEX Language Project chapters features more adults and fewer children than is typical of Hippo Family Club chapters in Japan. Although I

knew a handful of adults who participated in Hippo clubs in Japan without children,

the more common pattern was for a mother to come with her children, or for entire

nuclear families of mother, father, and one or more children to join at the same time.

As a result, most Hippo chapters I observed had either a fairly equal mix of adult and

child members, or somewhat more children than adults. In contrast, most LEX

Language Project chapters in Massachusetts featured more adults than children. One

exception was a club that operated on a weekday morning. At this chapter, a family of

mother, father, and five children rather tipped the balance; on most mornings there

were a total seven children and five adults present. In contrast, another chapter

featured no children as regular participants, though on some occasions the niece of a

regular member would attend.

In this section, I have suggested that, in addition to differences in the

membership of individual chapters, differences in consumer culture, particularly the

cute aesthetic, account for some of the differences between Hippo Family Club in

Japan and LEX Language Project in the US. Japanese club chapters are generally

operated by female fellows and include as many children as adults in their

membership. The associations of 'cute' with femininity, attraction to foreign cultures,

and rejection of traditional gender and labor roles also help account for the

positioning of Hippo Family Club as a cute organization. In the US, the larger

percentage of adult members, the relative professionalization of chapter facilitators,

and the general lack of a link between cuteness and consumer goods work against

such positioning. In the next section I turn from discussion of consumer culture to one

of political and educational traditions. I will argue that the relatively univocal, centrally organized discourse on education in Japan contrasts with a locally controlled, polyvocal discourse in the US. The resulting difference leads Hippo members in Japan to see their activities as a break from tradition, while American members see the same activities as a continuation of a tradition of experimentation.

5.3. Revolution and evolution

Popular wisdom holds that Japan's modernization was a singularly rapid development. From the closing of the Japanese borders by the Tokugawa shogunate in the 1630s until the arrival of Commodore Perry's black ships in the 1850s, Japan was officially closed to foreign influence. Foreign political developments during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were largely held at bay. Then starting with the Meiji Restoration around 1868, Japan suddenly and very rapidly became a modern world power. Though this story may be mythic and rather loose with historical facts (Tashiro 1982, Hall 1991), it is nonetheless widely referred to both inside and outside of Japan (Gottlieb 2005, Inoue 2006).

Brian McVeigh (1998) notes that slogans of Japanese education during the Meiji period (1868-1912) such as "catching up and surpassing the West" combine a drive for modernization and for patriotic nationalism. The history of Japanese education since the Meiji period is marked by struggles of political elites to mobilize nationalistic feelings and movements toward modernism and internationalism in the service of various political, philosophical, and economic ends.

During the Meiji period a goal of Japan's bureaucracies was to make the state a powerful player in international politics in order to resist and compete with Western imperial powers in Asia (Horio 1988, McVeigh 1998). One way to mobilize the people for these state ends is through education. Although various figures and factions within the Japanese elite struggled with one another over the power to organize and define state ends (Lincicome 2009), the dominant thrust of Japanese education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was toward emperor-centered nationalism, including a drive for "arms, empire, and oligarchic rule" (Lincicome 2009: 13).

Following a period of public resistance and democratic reform during the Taishō period (1912-1926), central control over education was again strengthened during the 1920s and 1930s. The Ministry of Education exerted particular control over the reproduction of loyal citizens during this period of increased Japanese imperialism in the run-up to the Second World War. The provision of moral and character education, using curricula and materials selected by the Ministry, emphasized the unique character of the Japanese people and the unbroken succession of the Japanese Emperor (Lincicome 2009). During and immediately after World War II, some Japanese intellectuals sought to counter the Ministry's control over education, which they associated with a drive for statism and militarism (Horio 1988).

In the early days of the Allied occupation, starting in 1945, the Allied Powers sought to bring Japanese schools under local control, modeled on the system in the United States (James and Benjamin 1988). During those early days, the Allied Powers

worked with the Japan Teachers Union, which had sought to counter the Ministry of Education's central control over educational practice. In 1947 the *Gakushuu Shidou Youryou* (Course of Study) was published as a general guide to the operation of education; the guidelines allowed autonomy to individual schools and teachers (Horio 1988). With the start of the Cold War, however, the US-dominated Allied Powers became increasingly distrustful of the Teachers Union, whose leaders tended to be socialists or communists. By the end of the occupation, the Allied Powers tended to side with Ministry over the Teachers Union (James and Benjamin 1988). In 1958 a revised Course of Study was put into law, giving central control over education to the Ministry of Education. Today, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology – which succeeded the Ministry of Education in 2001 – does not technically control education directly, but it does influence the content standardized tests and approves the textbooks used in each school, giving it de facto control (James and Benjamin 1988, Cutts 1997, Butler and Iino 2005).

It is against this tradition of centrally controlled education, in which private as well as publicly-funded schools use Ministry of Education-approved methods and materials and few dissenting voices are heard outside of the Ministry or Teachers Union, that Hippo Family Club poses its views on language education. LEX Institute materials in Japan promote Hippo Family Club as an effective alternative to artificial, authoritarian, and stressful classroom education.

In sharp contrast to the situation in Japan, where the content of education is centrally controlled by ministries of the national government, US schools are both

controlled and financed by local school boards (Stevenson and Nerison-Low 2002).

These school boards are sites of local governance shaped by American ideals of

representative democracy. Control of schools is expected to be based both on the

expertise of professional educators and on the values and the will of the local

community (Tracy 2007). The US Department of Education's National Institute on

Student Achievement, Curriculum, and Assessment suggests that Japanese and

American school systems are at opposite ends of a continuum, with Japan

representing the most centralized control of schools, and the US the most localized

(Stevenson and Nerison-Low 2002).

Shunah Chung and Daniel Walsh (2000) discuss a variety of educational

philosophies that have effected early childhood education in the United States since

the nineteenth century. German idealism, which placed man in a spiritual world;

American transcendentalism, which saw children's development as an expression of

God's will; a Hegelian view of socialization into American cultural values; and

various strains of developmentalism that sought to harmonize intellectual and

biological growth were each dominant approaches to early childhood education at

various times (Chung and Walsh 2000).

Like early childhood education, foreign language education has at various

times been dominated by different methods and philosophies. During the last quarter

of the nineteenth century the *direct method*, which rejected the use of translation or

lists of vocabulary items, was popular in various guises throughout Europe. These

approaches influenced language teaching in the United States. In the early twentieth

century, however, the direct method was replaced by various methods that combined

the study of grammar with communicative language use, inspired in part by European

linguists such as Otto Jesperson and Henry Sweet (Decoo 2001). In the mid-twentieth

century, the *audio-lingual method*, based on behaviorism in psychology and American

structuralism in linguistics, experienced popularity, only to be overthrown first by a

return to the eclectic methods of the early part of the century, and eventually replaced

by the *communicative approach* (Decoo 2001; see also Chapter Three).

Since control of education in the United States combines norms of

professional management with those of democratic local governance, citizen-

consumers of American education have a view to philosophical and empirical debates

over approaches. The traces of these arguments are visible in LEX Language Project

members' descriptions of the club's activities. When I interviewed her at her home in

eastern Massachusetts, LEX club member Cory described LEX activities as similar to

approaches in early childhood education. (In the transcription of interviews, listener

feedback is enclosed in square brackets. Transcription conventions otherwise

resemble those for multiparty discourse, as described in Appendix A.)

Interview with Cory, 3 March 2009

```
CORY: Going to LEX is like going to preschool.

CDN: hm

CORY: Cause we do lots of body, [CDN: yeah] lots of
singing, lots of moving, lots of crossing midline [huh]
during the- the uh stuff. We have pictures, we play
games, we- we try to do as much as we can in context.

CDN: Right.

CORY: So, y'know if you're learning the word ball, we
should have a ball around. And even if they don't
```

```
              associate it with that, maybe they'll associate it with
              "Oh, somebody's gonna play with me."
```

According to Cory, who is a special education teacher, one of the valuable qualities of

LEX activities is "crossing midline." Scholars and educators discuss the coordination

of movements that cross the midline of the body as milestones of normal or delayed

development (e.g. Eason & Surburg 1993, Woodard & Surburg 1999, Pedersen, Heath

& Surburg 2007). Some educational specialists advocate activities that require

movement across the midline either as remediation for learning disabilities (Ross &

Burdick 1981; Sherrill 1986) or as a pre-writing skill for normally developing

children (Armfield 1977). Cory's discussion of LEX activities thus do not stress

naturalness or distinction from traditional classroom activities, but features shared

with approaches to early childhood education. Cory also uses key terms from

pedagogical theory (*context, associate, body*) to validate LEX activities.

The pattern of pronoun use in Cory's description is also interesting. Her

description of LEX activities initially uses second person plural pronouns (*We do lots

of body*; *We have pictures*). When the description shifts to discussion of vocabulary

learning, however, their is a separation of second- and third-person pronouns for

learners (*You're learning the word* ball; *They'll associate it*) and first person pronouns

for the club generally (*We should have a ball around*). Cory thus positions herself

both as a club member and as an expert who can both provide and evaluate proper

educational practices.

Similarly, Rena, the facilitator of a LEX Language Project club, suggests that

her experience as a camp counselor, and specifically her teaching experience,

foreshadowed her interest in becoming a LEX club facilitator.

> **Interview with Rena**, 7 March 2009
> ```
> RENA: I'm uh I just started thinki- well from when I
> even from when I started I I started thinking of um "Oh
> these are cool games, like I wanna make some up.
> myself."
>
> CDN: uh huh
>
> RENA: And c- y'know add to the stock of games that we
> have [°huh°] and um and . I dunno I mean I've been a
> teacher, [mm hm] um . I've been a camp counselor, [mm
> hm] um actually for . five summers I think? uh in high
> school and college I was a camp counselor?
>
> CDN: mm hm
>
> RENA: um and so y'know leading kids in songs and games
> and things like that wa- it was some thing that I was .
> USed to and I think I'm drawing on that.
> ```

By comparing "a teacher" and "a camp counselor" with the person who creates "cool

games" for LEX, Rena implicitly casts those activities as pedagogical materials. Later

in the same interview, Rena makes the claim more explicitly.

> **Interview with Rena**, 7 March 2009
> ```
> RENA: I had a lot of opinions about [uh huh] y'know how
> I wanted to y'know the diREction that I would want to
> take a club (in/and) I st- immediately started to think
> "OH y'know if I y'know if I had my OWn club: I would
> y'know I'd want to have games for all these different
> areas of vocabulary, and I'd wanna y'know make sure we
> ROtated them on some sort of . y- loose, loosely on a
> schedule: where [uh huh] y'know we hit- we got like .
> eventually acquired all the vocabulary (in/and) all the
> different languages and . um .. hh
> ```

For Rena, the goal is to create "games for all these different areas of vocabulary"

covering "vocabulary in all the different languages." In fact the games that Rena had

created relate to specific vocabulary areas, much as they might be covered in the

syllabus of a foreign-language class. For example, Rena created the game *Moi Dom* (Russian: "My House"), in which players sit in a circle around drawings of houses and take turns describing one of the pictures. The player selects any language she prefers, and utters a sentence of the form "My house is ___," usually completed with a description of color, size, or position relative to something else in the picture. The other players then race to grab the drawing described. The game is a variant of *karuta*, a genre of game frequently exploited in the creation of Hippo club activities. At one LEX Language Project meeting Rena led, she selected the SADA to include a simpler version of *karuta* using solid-colored cards named with single words, followed by *Moi Dom*, and then Color Tag, a type of tag in which the player must name a color for the other players to find and touch. Thus, the progression of different games each reinforces similar color-word vocabulary, in the fashion of a foreign-language lesson plan or syllabus.

Although similar, often identical activities are practiced at Hippo Family Club chapters in Japan and LEX Language Project clubs in the United States, the activities are justified in very different ways. In Japan, Hippo activities are seen as a 'natural' means to stimulate language acquisition. This natural acquisition is opposed to the ineffective methods of 'traditional' school approaches. In the US, the same activities are justified as cognitively enriching methods, using language borrowed from professional or scientific registers of pedagogical theory and early childhood development. Against a background of centrally controlled educational policy in Japan, the introduction of teaching methods that differ from those used in public or

private schools is viewed as a revolution in learning. In the US, in contrast, LEX

methods are simply one more approach in a crowded field of educational methods

that are debated on scientific merits and selected in accordance with local values.

As the justifications of similar methods differ in Japan and the US, so do

accounts of the history of LEX and Hippo. Accounts of the club's history produced by

LEX Institute in Tokyo and LEX America in Massachusetts each refer to the founding

of the club by Yo Sakakibara, and to Sakakibara's relationship to the educational and

linguistic institutions of the late twentieth century. The characterization of this

relationship is rather different, however. The LEX America account suggests a

gradual expansion of activities that began in Japan, leading up to the founding of

Hippo Family Club chapters in the United States. In contrast, the LEX Institute

account focuses on the founding of the club in Tokyo, which is positioned as a break

from traditional study in American universities.

The LEX America website features a time line titled "History of Hippo Family

Club," which lists key events in the club's history by date. The account begins in

Tokyo years before the official founding of Hippo Family Club, and lists the dates of

various developments in the club's evolution.

"History of Hippo Family Club"
1966 - Tokyo English Center founded by Yo Sakakibara in Tokyo.
1968 - Language Research Foundation founded by Yo Sakakibara in
    Cambridge, MA.
1972 - Homestay program begun with 4-H.
1981 - LEX Institute/HIPPO Family Club founded by Yo Sakakibara to
    focus on multilingual/multicultural activities.
1982 - HIPPO Family Club exchange with 4-H begun.
1985 - LEX America founded in Cambridge, MA mainly to coordinate
    exchange programs.

[…]
March 1997 - Yo Sakakibara gave seminar in Boston, introducing HIPPO
    Family Club to US.
June 1997 - Camp held for potential fellows in western MA.
November 1997 - HIPPO Family Club launched in MA, NY, and NJ with
    3 clubs (Belmont Tomodachi, Manhattan, and Englewood Cliffs).
(LEX Language Project 2007)

The use of a time-line suggests an evolution, rather than a revolutionary change,

leading to the establishment of Hippo Family Club. According to this time-line,

Hippo Family Club was founded "to focus on multilingual/multicultural activities."

There is no suggestion that the educational approach of Hippo Family Club contrasts

with that of the earlier "Tokyo English Center," and no hint as to the educational

philosophies or methods employed by these organization.

It is accepted knowledge within LEX Language Project that Sakakibara

worked with researchers at Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology while

he lived in Cambridge. Several individuals mentioned this to me, though no one was

quite sure about the nature of Sakakibara's status at these institutions. Nonetheless,

the presumed relationship between elite universities and Hippo, or at least Hippo's

founder, lend a certain authority to the club via a presumed relationship to traditions

of education and research. The LEX America time-line shows the Japanese

organization's repeated outreach to the US and culminates with the launch of Hippo

clubs in three US states.

In the version of history related by LEX Institute in Tokyo, Sakakibara is

explicitly described as carrying out research at Harvard and MIT. Unlike descriptions

in the US, however, LEX Institute suggests that the move from Cambridge to Tokyo

inaugurated a new approach to learning.

> The founder of LEX and HIPPO Family Club, Mr. Yo
> Sakakibara, has been researching how humans acquire
> languages for over 30 years. First working with
> researchers at Harvard and MIT, and then moving his
> research institute to Tokyo, Japan. In 1981, he formed
> HIPPO Family Club, which utilizes the learning
> methods he developed based on this research. (LEX
> Institute 2007)

According to LEX Institute, this research " shows that anyone, at any age, can acquire

new languages," and contrasts this natural acquisition to attempts to learn "in a

traditional classroom" (LEX Institute 2007).

A similar point is suggested in the Hippo recording, *Multilingual Friends*

Around the World! (LEX Institute 2006). In the fictional story told on the recording,

Sakakibara appears briefly as a character, describing the history of Hippo Family

Club to a club member from Korea. (This excerpt is drawn from the book that

accompanies the recording.)

Excerpt 5.1 Mr. Sakakibara's Story (MFAW Engl 12)

Sakakibara: At the time America was said to be very advanced in the
field of linguistics and language learning. So we started out
using language materials based on the latest American
research. But we found that we didn't get very good results
with them.

Sang-woo: Huh? Really?

Sakakibara: Around that time, I happened to take a trip to Luxembourg
in Europe. I found out that children in Luxembourg can
speak not only Luxembourgish, but German, French, and
English too. And people there speak those four languages in
their everyday lives. That's the kind of environment they

live in. That's when I first realized that human beings can
be multilingual.

The Sakakibara figure presented in the story reflects a common understanding of

learning and research within Hippo Family Club: where traditional study is

ineffective, "natural" learning via a process of unguided self-discovery can lead to

important breakthroughs. While this ideology is most commonly expressed in

discussions of the differences between Hippo language learning and traditional

language study, this excerpt suggests that Sakakibara's most effective pedagogical

research, the discovery which led to the founding of Hippo Family Club, happened

only when he rejected traditional linguistic research and discovered multilingualism

naturally.

Small differences in emphasis in the US and Japan construct the history of

Hippo Family Club as *evolutionary* in the former and *revolutionary* in the latter. In

the US story, knowledge developed in authoritative institutions is shared with

individual practitioners who adapt it to local conditions. In the Japanese story, a

distinguished leader sees the inefficacy of tradition, is inspired to create a new

system, and brings it to the people.

In this chapter I have argued that differences in practices and in club members'

talk about practices between Hippo Family Club in Japan and LEX Language Project

in the United States are related to the different historical, cultural, and ideological

backgrounds within which the two clubs exist. In Japan, where cuteness is a common

means to position products for consumption, Hippo Family Club's name and images

are seen as an appropriate representation of what the club stands for. The historical associations between cute culture and a rejection of traditional gendered labor roles make such images especially appropriate for a group that promises connections to a new, global community. At the same time, the association of 'cute' with novel forms of femininity accord with the somewhat feminized image of Hippo clubs in particular and of language work as women's work in general. This contrasts with the situation in the United States, where educational products and services are marketed via associations with elite culture.

The effects of different educational discourses is also seen in the ways that American and Japanese club members justify their activities. In Japan, where formal education is centrally controlled and most citizens are relatively passive receivers of the educational forms decreed by elected officials, Ministry of Education bureaucrats, and Japan Teachers Union representatives, alternative education is seen as a revolution. This contrasts with the United States, where local control of education via popular local governance gives individuals a stake in debates over educational practice. LEX Language Project members in the US describe the effectiveness of club activities in terms of educational practice and philosophy. Play is valuable to LEX Language Project members not because it is fun, but because it resembles the activities of early childhood education. For Japanese Hippo club members, on the other hand, play is means to return to childhood and experience 'natural' language acquisition. "Adults who are exposed to new languages in a similar way [to babies] will go through the same natural process" (LEX Institute 2007). While LEX America

compares club activities to professional teachers' methods, Hippo in Japan views the same activities as a rejection of traditional education.

Despite different ideas about the nature of language education in Japan and the United States, LEX/Hippo club members identify with members of other club chapters around the world. On both sides of the Pacific, club members seek a form of what I am calling *cosmopolitan citizenship*, an imagined relationship with a community of language learners all over the world. In Chapter Six I describe how club members come to identify with the characters of the fictional stories contained in their learning materials through a process of adequation (Bucholtz and Hall 2004). The descriptions of these characters in the recordings emphasize their roles as Hippo Family Club members without providing specific details about their lives or personalities, making it easy for listeners to identify with them. Club members who identify with these fictional characters can also envision a relationship with members of other club chapters in other parts of the world through a process of fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000). Perceptions of similarity between oneself, fellow chapter members, and fictional characters are projected onto other club members in diverse parts of the world. In this way, club members imagine themselves to be part of an international community of fellow club members, most of whom they will never actually meet (compare Anderson 1983).

Identifying with the Transnational Family
"Because you started Hippo, Mr. Sakakibara, ... I have friends all over the world!"
(track 12, *Multilingual Friends Around the World!*)

6.1. Language and identity

Members of Hippo Family Club envision themselves as part of a world-wide

organization, sharing a relationship and a common endeavor with fellow club

members in many countries. I was therefore a bit surprised to stumble across evidence

of unexamined assumptions of normative Japanese ethnicity in the Japanese club.

During the course of field work, I needed to fill out an application form on the LEX

Institute web site in order to attend a *kouenkai* (public meeting) at a chapter I had

never visited before. The application was a standard on-line form; it asked for my

name, address, telephone number, and fax number. Since I had recently arrived in

Japan, I did not have a telephone or fax, and thought it might be unwise to give the

address of my temporary lodging. Therefore, I gave my telephone and fax numbers

both as 00-0000-0000 and my address as simply *beikoku* (United States of America).

I had expected to have difficulty filling out my address and phone number, but

was quite surprised that the greatest difficulty was caused by my name. There were

blanks for *sei* (family name) and *na* (given name), which I entered as *Nilep, Chad*.

When I pressed the 'send' button on the online form, I was informed that I had not

included a postal code, and that my name was not properly formatted. After I included

the postal code 000-0000, *beikoku* was accepted as my address. I tried entering my

name in *katakana*, the syllabary commonly used for foreign words and the names of

non-Japanese residents: ナイレップ・チャド. This was still unacceptable. The

computer required *kanji* (Chinese characters) for the name and katakana for the

furigana (pronunciation guide). I tried a third time, giving the kanji for my name as

虚名・義理 (*kyomei, giri,* literally: False-name, Obligation) and ナイレップ・チャド

(Nilep, Chad) as the pronunciation guide. This was accepted.

I found it odd that an organization that prides itself on its membership of

diverse individuals from all over the world nonetheless does not think to configure its

on-line application system to accept names in orthographies other than the traditional

kanji. Despite imagining Hippo membership to include members around the world,

despite the presence of linguistically diverse residents and naturalized citizens in

Japan (Maher and Yashiro 1995, Gottlieb 2005, Kanno 2008, inter alia), and despite

the existence of actual non-Japanese Hippo members in Japanese club chapters, the

default assumption is that potential members will all have typically Japanese names.

This chapter explores the ways in which Hippo Family Club members come to

imagine themselves as part of a worldwide community of Hippos, and how they come

to identify with these imagined fellow members despite the likelihood of

interpersonal differences. I begin by describing, in the remainder of this section, the

theoretical background on which the analysis is based. Of primary importance is the

tactics of intersubjectivity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b), a theory for understanding the

discourse practices by which individuals identify with some groups and differentiate

themselves from others. This chapter also draws on the notion of *fractal recursivity*

(Irvine and Gal 2000), a processes whereby perceptions of individual similarity or

difference are projected onto relationships at other levels, creating larger or smaller

categories of identification. Finally, the analysis relates to the notion of *simultaneity*

(Anderson 1983), in which separate individuals are imagined to comprise a united society by virtue of moving together through time. For Benedict Anderson, experience of the same newspapers and novels allow individuals to imagine themselves as united in a nation; for Hippo Family Club members, experience of Hippo tapes and chapter meetings create an image of a united club.

In section 6.2 we turn to an analysis of the content of the Hippo tapes. The fictional stories in the most commonly used recordings, *Hippo Goes Overseas* (Hippo Family Club 1985) and *Multilingual Friends Around the World!* (LEX Institute 2006), present an image of ideal membership. The characters in the stories travel around the world, use multiple languages, and befriend interesting people. Section 6.2 also examines how members' talk, especially during club meetings but also in interviews and other talk, is modeled on the content of the Hippo tapes. This reproduction of the language and ideas presented in the Hippo tapes allows members to identify with the fictional characters of the narratives, and from there to project this identity onto Hippo Family Club generally.

Finally, in section 6.3 I return to the notion of cosmopolitan citizenship. Members of Hippo Family Club view their control of multiple language varieties as a means to position themselves in a world beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. Club members see themselves not only as multilingual, but also as international. Though they may never travel abroad, they are able to view themselves as part of an international society, or a transnational family, of fellow club members. Even members who travel abroad frequently, or who host numerous foreign guests, will

never meet more than a small percentage of the potential Hippo membership. Yet their identification with Hippo Family Club as an institution is projected onto an interpersonal relationship with fellow club members around the world.

The notion of identity is a complex one. In common usage, the word has two nearly opposite meanings: *identity* is at once defined as "the quality or condition of being the same in substance, composition, nature, properties, or in particular qualities," and "the condition or fact that a person or thing is itself and not something else; individuality, personality" (Oxford English Dictionary 1989). A person's identity is the quality of being a unique individual, which is accomplished by virtue of being the same or similar to members of various groups. Definitions of identity in the social sciences are similarly complex. Having a social identity suggests being positioned in various socially constructed categories or culturally specific subject positions. This positioning is accomplished by a combination of individual actions and ideologies, combined with the actions and ratification of others, all crucially contained within a broader encompassing social structure. An individual's identity is not an essential quality or an internal state; rather it is an outcome of socially mediated ideological practices of locating the self and others in subject positions.

The notion of identity in this dissertation is greatly influenced by the *tactics of intersubjectivity* (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b), in which the individual is seen both as the subject *of*, and subject *to* social processes. That is, individual identity is partially a result of personal agency, including both intentional performances and habitual

practices. At the same time, identity is also partially a result of social structures over which the individual has no direct control. According to Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, while the actions available to people are constrained by the social structures within which they exist, social actors nonetheless work to construct their various identities through interaction and negotiation with others. Social positioning is accomplished via human agency, but the agency of each individual is constrained. This tension "is captured in the polysemy of *subject* as both the agent and the patient of social action" (Bucholtz & Hall 2004b: 383).

Bucholtz and Hall (2004b) describe three pairs of tactics by which identity positions are built and maintained: *adequation* and *distinction* describe the pursuit of socially recognized similarity and difference; *authentication* and *denaturalization* concern judgments of the genuineness or artifice of identity performances; and *authorization* and *illegitimation* involve uses of institutional or social authority to legitimate some identities while withholding legitimacy from others.

Adequation, the recognition of others as adequately equal to oneself (or to third parties – especially in the case of *imposed adequation* (Hodges 2008)) is accomplished through the emphasis of analogous features and the de-emphasis of other features. The features emphasized or de-emphasized may vary with time or setting, as befits the moment of interaction. As important as emphasis of similarity is the erasure of difference. Judith Irvine and Susan Gal define *erasure* in their work on ideology: "Facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get explained away. So, for example, a social group or a language may be imagined

as homogeneous, its internal variation disregarded" (2000: 38). For example, during a party in Osaka in 2006 to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Hippo Family Club, a group of club members from Japan and Mexico noted how they all liked to dance, they all liked to eat, and they all enjoyed Hippo activities. They made no note of the fact that many of the Mexican members did not speak Japanese, many of the Japanese members did not speak Spanish, and their discussion of similarities was mediated by those members who could translate between the two languages. This failure to notice key differences is essential to the recognition of similarity via adequation.

As adequation selectively emphasizes or constructs similarity, distinction erases similarities while emphasizing differences. Distinction is utilized both by powerful hegemonic groups to separate themselves from those lacking economic or political power (Bourdieu 1984), and by dominated groups to resist hegemonic power. For example, while discrimination persists against ethnic Chinese in Japan, some parents send their children to private bilingual Chinese schools where they study Chinese as a second language in order to resist assimilation to Japanese language and culture (Kanno 2008).

Where adequation and distinction pertain to the markedness of identity positions, authentication and denaturalization relate to identity's essentialism. Although anthropologists and social scientists face criticism when they are seen to essentialize the groups they describe (see Gupta & Ferguson 1992; Abu-Lughod 2006), individual members of social groups practice forms of essentialism themselves

when they either recognize others as in-group members or withhold such recognition. In addition, while the notion of *authenticity* can be a fraught one in social science research, *authentication* again highlights the fact that in-group status is an interactional accomplishment rather than a transparent act of recognizing pre-existing similarities. Authentication describes processes by which members claiming or assigning identities argue for the 'naturalness' of some identity positions. These arguments are supported by emphasizing either selected physical properties or cultural practices, such as ways of speaking. In contrast, denaturalization argues against such claims of naturalness by highlighting either the artificiality or non-essential nature of such properties. For example, public arguments in the US over the adequacy or strength of Barack Obama's identity as an African American have variously focused on the sufficiency of skin color, national origin, speaking styles, or cultural exclusion to category membership (Walters 2007).

Practices of institutional power are at work in the tactics of authorization and illegitimation. Among the most visible practices of authorization are the selection, codification, and promotion of standard language varieties by states or other authorities. For example, when intellectual and government elites in Japan cooperated to describe regional dialects and ultimately to promote a particular variety as the standard Japanese language around the turn of the last century (Gottlieb 2005; Inoue 2006), they effectively constructed the newly emergent Tokyo middle class as a privileged position. At the same time, these acts of authorization served as illegitimation of other groups within the state. Okinawan dialect speakers, in

particular, were placed outside of the Japanese mainstream, as were speakers of other regional dialects, and ethnic groups associated with languages such as Ainu or Korean.

The tactics of adequation and distinction, in particular, are useful for identifying with the characters in the Hippo tapes. As we shall see in section 6.2, the characters in *Hippo Goes Overseas* invite identification because they are described in relatively little detail. The central character, Sonoko, is a twelve-year-old girl from Tokyo who attends school and has a mother, a father, and a brother. Other than this, most of the details given in the story relate only to being a member of Hippo Family Club, a characteristic that she shares with most of the story's audience. This vague characterization makes it relatively easy to see oneself in Sonoko's position, traveling to America and meeting new people. The central character of *Multilingual Friends Around the World!*, Ichiro, features a similar lack of personal details. Ichiro is, however, distinguished from the other characters in the story by being a member of Hippo Family Club. This distinction makes Ichiro attractive to the other characters in the story; it is also a characteristic that they are able to acquire by joining the club. By the end of the story, nearly all of its central characters have joined Hippo Family Club chapters in their home countries.

The stories in the Hippo tapes invite listeners to identify with their central characters. This identification is then projected onto identification with Hippo Family Club by a process of fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000). A fractal is a rough geometric shape that is self-similar at different scales. That is, small segments of the

form resemble the form as a whole, at least approximately. Perhaps the most famous fractal is the boundary of the Mandelbrot set (Figure 6.1), in which smaller groups of circular forms resembles the form as a whole. The complex images of fractals are described by relatively simple equations or sets of equations, which are iterated to define the form. The notion of fractals is used to describe patterns in nature such as leaves, crystals, or river networks in which smaller elements of the pattern resemble larger ones. Benoit Mandelbrot (1977), the geometer who coined the term *fractal*, suggested that the concept may also be useful to describe recurring patterns in linguistics, economics, and other studies of human activities.
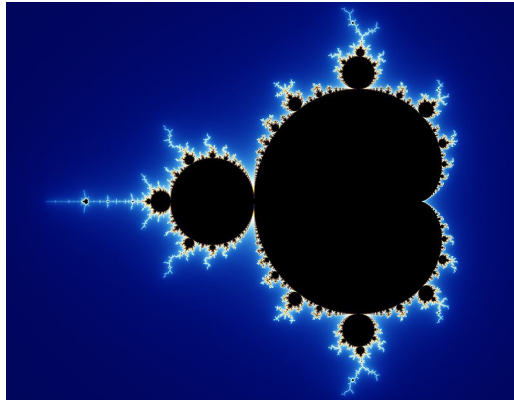

Figure 6.1. Mandelbrot set with continuously colored environment, created by Wolfgang Beyer (upload.wikimedia.org/ wikipedia/commons/2/21/Mandel _zoom_00_mandelbrot_set.jpg).
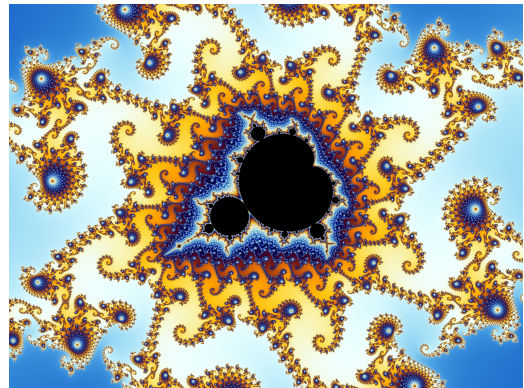
Figure 6.2. Detail of the image in figure 6.1 at 210,350 times magnification (upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/ commons/b/b3/Mandel_zoom_07_ satellite.jpg).

Fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000) is a semiotic and ideological practice named for this geometric concept. Irvine and Gal define the semiotic practice of fractal recursivity as "the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level" (2000: 38). For example, differences between individual members of a group may be 'projected' or seen to exist in differences between groups, or the distinctive features of a group may be projected onto individual members of the group. An historical illustration of the process of fractal recursivity is seen in the place of Macedonia within early twentieth century Europe. The stereotype of the civilized West and the barbaric Orient was recursively applied to the relationship between Europe and Asia, the relationship between western Europe and the Balkans, and the place of Macedonia within the Balkans (Irvine and Gal 2000). The same semiotic system is seen at different scales, as in a fractal form.

While Irvine and Gal (2000) discuss the process of fractal recursivity in terms of differentiation – the ideological construction of difference between societies or individuals – the same process can be seen in the practices of identification through which individuals are seen as the same as other members of the in-group. In order to see Macedonia as "the Balkans of the Balkans" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 63), scholars and government officials in Europe focused on the "disorder" of Macedonian society, particularly on its multilingualism, which was contrasted with the one-nation one-language ideal of European nationalism. This selective attention paid to a perceived difference is an application of the practice of of distinction (Bucholtz & Hall 2004b).

Adequation proceeds in essentially the same way that distinction does, by highlighting similarities and ignoring or erasing inconsistent facts. Just as notions of difference at one level can be projected to other levels, so too can notions of similarity. The similarity that listeners perceive between themselves and the fictional characters of the Hippo tapes are projected, first onto a relationship with fellow chapter members, and then onto an identification with Hippo Family Club members and other cosmopolitan figures who are imagined to exist in distant parts of the world (see section 6.3).

Members of Hippo Family Club can imagine a relationship with other club members by a process similar to the one Benedict Anderson sees at work in the construction of nationalism: an image of "simultaneity in 'homogeneous empty time'" (Anderson 1983: 31). For Anderson, this perception of simultaneity is provided by print capitalism. Individuals see characters in a novel or figures in a newspaper that are connected by virtue of being present on the same page. In parallel fashion, they imagine themselves to be connected to fellow citizens of the nation-state by virtue of being present in the same society, effected by the same events the newspapers describe. Experience with texts also allows members of Hippo Family Club to imagine a connection with other club members, though in a somewhat different way. Every week, a club member meets and interacts with other members of her own chapter. During these meetings, she also reinforces her identification with the characters in the Hippo stories by repeatedly listening to the narratives. In turn, she imagines thousands of other people at other meetings in other places engaging in

similar activities and having similar thoughts. The similarity between the individual member and the narrative's protagonists is projected onto the relationship with co-present club members. This relationship is then understood to obtain between all members of the club, wherever they may be.

With this theoretical background in mind, let us turn to the analysis of data. In section 6.2 I analyze segments of the Hippo tapes *Hippo Goes Overseas* and *Multilingual Friends Around the World!*, arguing that the idealized image of Hippo Family Club membership and the schematic descriptions of the stories' characters invite listeners to identify themselves with the club. I then examine actual club members' speeches at weekly meetings that are based closely on the content of these recordings. The reproduction and adaptation of the content of club recordings in members' introductions of themselves strengthens their identification with the club and allows them to see themselves as part of a transnational group.

6.2. The Hippo Tapes

The audio recordings that form one of the basic building blocks of Hippo language learning present an idealized image of Hippo Family Club members meeting and interacting with people in different parts of the world. Two sets of recordings were commonly used in nearly every chapter I visited. In *Hippo Goes Overseas* (Hippo Family Club 1985), twelve year old Sonoko Ogura goes to America where she spends the summer with the Brown family and participates in 4-H activities. *Multilingual Friends Around the World!* (LEX Institute 2006) recounts Ichiro Kihara's year at

'Wisconsin High School' and subsequent trips to Singapore for the wedding of classmate Li mei, and to Mexico for a Hippo Transnational Camp, as well as a visit to Japan from Ichiro's classmate, Sang-woo Park, from Korea. Both stories present an image of an ideal Hippo world, where club members travel abroad, make friends, and communicate in the local languages of the areas they visit. Also in each story is an image of Hippo Family Club itself constantly growing to include an ever increasing membership and more chapters in different parts of the world. This image of Hippo Family Club as attractive and well-connected and of its members as confident, successful, and happy provides listeners with a model for how to think about their own club experiences.

Although talk at Hippo Family Club and LEX Language Project meetings features a good deal of meta-discourse including talk about the Hippo tapes, very little of this relates explicitly to the events of the narratives. Occasionally elementary-school aged boys and girls in Japan would quiz other chapter members on minute details of the recordings, such as "How old is Ichiro?" Such quizzes were a way for children to hold the floor for longer periods of time during the 'talking time' portion of meetings, or to get the floor when they were bored with other activities. Outside of these quizzes, however, the content of the stories is seldom discussed overtly. For example, the names "Sonoko" or "Ichiro" do not show up in some six hours of interviews I recorded with club members in Japan and the US, despite approximately thirty mentions of "CDs" or "tapes."

Nevertheless, the stories told in the recordings have unmistakable resonances with members' talk. For example, the "surprised by competence" narrative pattern discussed in Chapter 3 finds parallels in both stories. As described in Chapter 3, members often tell of doubting their own linguistic competence, and being pleasantly surprised at their ability to communicate with foreign guests or hosts. In the following scripted excerpt from *Multilingual Friends Around the World!,* the central protagonist, Ichiro, displays similar doubt in his own speaking ability, only to be pleasantly surprised by his eventual success. (Excerpts from *Multilingual Friends Around the World!* are presented in the written form given in small paperback books that accompany the CDs.)

Excerpt 6.1. On the School Bus (MFAW Engl 02)

Ichiro	I just hope this is the right bus.
Student A	Who's he?
Student B	I don't know. He looks Asian.
Student A	Japanese? Korean? Chinese, maybe? Must be an exchange student.
Ichiro	Ah, they're looking at me... they're saying something. Geez, they're all so big. They make me nervous.
Mark	Hi! Okay if I sit here?
Ichiro	Uh, hi. S-sure.
Mark	Thanks.
	Are you an exchange student? Where are you from?
Ichiro	Um, Japan.
Mark	Whoa! Japan!
	Then I guess you can do Judo.
Ichiro	Huh? Judo?
	No, not really.
Mark	What? You don't?
	Well, anyway, do you like soccer?
Ichiro	Yes, but I'm not very good.
Mark	That's no problem!
	I'm on the soccer team, myself. If you want, come on down and check out our practice after class today.

Ichiro	Really? Is that okay?
Mark	Of course!
	I'm Mark. Glad to meet you.
Ichiro	Uh, I'm Ichiro. Glad to meet you too.
Mark	Hey, you see that guy in the yellow cap sitting in the back? He's on the soccer team too. His name's Sang-woo and he's from Korea. This is his second year here.
Ichiro	Oh really?
Mark	I'll introduce you to Sang-woo too, later on.
	Well, here we are at school. So see you on the soccer field after school.
	If you have any questions about anything, just ask, okay?
Ichiro	Okay! Thanks.
	Wow, he understood my English! And I even made a friend. All right!

At the beginning of this episode Ichiro is "nervous" about being in America, a nervousness he attributes to both the behavior (*They're looking at me... they're saying something*) and the physical strangeness of the people around him (*Geez, they're all so big*). The lack of fluency suggested by both the discourse marker *uh* and Ichiro's stutter-like restart (*Uh, hi. S-sure*) both suggest that Ichiro's unease is at least partly attributable to language insecurity. Note that this disfluency must be written into the script; it is performed by the voice actors in the way that the written version suggests. Ichiro continues to produce non-lexical discourse markers at the beginning of his next two utterances. Eventually, though, he produces a complete sentence with no non-lexical elements (*Yes, but I'm not very good*), as one might expect in careful speech. This utterance occurs after Mark has suggested that Ichiro must know judo and might enjoy soccer, two activities that require practice to attain competence and skill. While LEX discourses deny that teachers or tests are necessary to language learning, many members note that mastery requires a good deal of time and that Hippo's leisurely

approach is both pleasant and effective. For example, at a *kouenkai* (public lecture meeting) in eastern Japan the member who delivered the lecture described one of the positive values of Hippo activities as "*goyukkuri mi ni tsuku*" (mastering slowly). Since language learning is viewed as a pleasurable activity that requires practice and the commitment of time to master, Mark and Ichiro's talk about sports can be seen as allusion to a similar activity.

When Ichiro downplays his ability to play soccer, Mark insists *That's no problem!* and uses his description of the soccer team to highlight the relationship that exists between himself and another student, Sang-woo. In addition to athletic ability, soccer practice provides an opportunity for socialization and the formation of friendships, again tying in with Hippo activities. The parallel between learned abilities and interpersonal relationships is reinforced, and made explicit to language ability, at line 38 when Ichiro declares, *He understood my English, and I even made a friend*. This coda (Labov & Waletzky 1967) shifts the recording from a dyadic conversation between Mark and Ichiro to a narrative in which Ichiro addresses the CD's listeners directly. It also functions much like the resolution of the typical "surprised by competence" narrative, in which the narrator is pleasantly surprised by his or her own ability to understand and be understood in the majority language of the host culture.

The "surprised by competence" genre also appears on the recording *Hippo Goes Overseas*. In excerpt 6.2, Sonoko has just arrived at the airport and worries about speaking with her American hosts. As with excerpt 6.1, the protagonist displays

some difficulty at the beginning of the exchange, but is able to communicate fluently

by the end. (Since no book was available at the time these materials were prepared,

excerpts from *Hippo Goes Overseas* are transcribed by the researcher from the audio

CDs. Like *Multilingual Friends Around the World!*, the content of *Hippo Goes*

Overseas is scripted and professionally recorded.)

Excerpt 6.2. At the Airport (HGO Engl 04)

```
 1   Sonoko:   What should I say first? Guess I should say,
 2             'Hajimemashite.' Isn't 'Konnichiha' enough? Or should I
 3             say, 'Douzou, yoroshiku'? Oh I get all mixed up. I'll just
 4             remember one phrase. 'How do you do?' 'How do you do.'
 5             Look at all the Americans. Oh gosh this suitcase is sure
 6             heavy.
 7   Mom:      Sonoko.
 8   Sonoko:   Huh? Is someone really calling me? My goodness. Hey look,
 9             my name is on that placard over there. I'd better go and
10             see.
11   Mom:      So you are Sonoko. You look just like your picture. We're
12             so happy.
13   Sonoko:   Excuse me but would you please speak more slowly?
14   Mom:      Oh, sorry. <You are Sonoko. You look just like your
15             picture. We're so happy to have you.↑ Did you have a good
16             flight? Are you tired?>
17   Sonoko:   Yes, yes.
18   Mom:      This is Janet, Sonoko. And this is Dave, and Connie.
19   Sonoko:   You are Janet? You don't look at all like your picture.
20             Now I see why. You had you're hair cut didn't you.
21   Janet:    Yeah, I did.
22   Sonoko.   It's pretty.
23   Janet:    Thank you.
24   Dave:     Is this your suitcase?
25   Sonoko:   Yes.
26   Dave:     Okay. Let's go.
27   Sonoko:   Hello Connie. She is so cute.
28   Connie:   Mommy, I wanna go home now.
29   Sonoko:   Oh she speaks very good English. But then, after all, I
30             guess she should speak English, since she's an American
31             child.
```

Hippo Goes Overseas starts with an exchange of letters between Sonoko and Janet

Brown, her American host and age-mate. Track 4, transcribed here, is the first track

that represents spoken language, though obviously both those tracks representing

written language and those representing speech are delivered aurally on the CDs. As in *Multilingual Friends Around the World!*, the protagonist betrays linguistic unease at her first meeting with Americans, illustrated by her rehearsal of possible greetings (lines 1-4) and her request that her host mother speak more slowly (line 13). Nevertheless, Sonoko produces a relatively long utterance at line 19, consisting of four sentences that develop a single topic: Janet does not look like the picture included in her letter because she has cut her hair. In fact, all of the sentences produced by the American characters are simple sentences with a single subject and a single verb phrase. Sonoko herself produces the most complex syntactic constructions in the passage, with a short conjoined sentence at line 13 (*Excuse me but would you speak more slowly?*), a tag question at line 20 (*You had your hair cut didn't you*) and even a relative clause at lines 29-31 (*I guess she should speak English, since she's an American child*) in what presumably represents internal monologue.

In excerpt 6.3, from a later track on *Hippo Goes Overseas*, Sonoko again shows some disfluency or unease in the first several seconds of the exchange. As the exchange continues, she is able to communicate with no difficulty. At the end of the track, Sonoko evaluates her own linguistic performance during her first day in America positively.

Excerpt 6.3. Giving Presents (HGO Engl 09)

```
1   Sonoko: Maybe this is the time to give everyone their gifts while
2           they're all here together.
3           Ahem °ahem.° Er- Everybody? Presents from Japan for you.
4   Connie: Oh goodie.
5   Sonoko: Daddy, this is for you. It is Kakejiku. My grandpa made it.
6           He teaches calligraphy.
7   Daddy: What does it say, Sonoko?
```

```
 8   Sonoko: Yuujou means friendship.
 9   Daddy: Oh, friendship. Sukiyaki. Great.
10          Let's see, shall I hang it here?
11   Mom:    Look. What do you think it is?
12   Sonoko: That's your gift Mom. It is called furoshiki. It's a cloth
13          to carry things with.
14   Mom:    Oh really? How do you use it?
15   Sonoko: Oh. Let me see. Like this.
16   Mom:    Okay, I understand now.
17   Sonoko: Here, this is for you, Janet.
18   Janet: What could this be?
19          Ah! It's a t-shirt like the one you're wearing, Sonoko.
20   Sonoko: Yes it is. Do you like it?
21   Janet:  Oh yes.
22   Sonoko: Try it on.
23   Janet:  Look. It fits perfectly. I love it.
24   Dave:   Hey. You look like twins.
25   (music 4.8)
26   Mom:    Okay everyone. It's getting late. Thank Sonoko for the
27          lovely gifts now and get to bed.
28   Janet: [Okay Mom. Thank you Sonoko.]
29   Dave:  [Okay Mom. Thank you Sonoko.]
30   Sonoko: You're welcome. I'm very glad that you like them.
31   Janet: [Goodnight Daddy. And goodnight Mommy.]
32   Dave:  [Goodnight Daddy. And goodnight Mommy.]

33   Mom:   [Goodnight children.]
34   Daddy: [Goodnight children.] Sleep tight.
35   (Music 18.0)
36   Sonoko: This bed is so soft and comfortable. Even though I
37          completely forgot to say 'How do you do?' They could
38          understand my English.
39          Good for me. Good for me. Through sunshine and showers.
40          U:ah ah. Oh I'm sleepy. U:a °ua°
```

This vignette, track nine on the CD, occurs after tracks showing Sonoko's trip to her host family's home, her introduction to the house, and family dinner together. Nonetheless, at the start of this track Sonoko evinces insecurity again when she seizes the floor and puts herself at the center of attention in order to distribute presents to her hosts. At line 3, she produces first two calls for attention, the second notably quieter than the first, and then what is either a vocalized pause or a stuttering false start on the word *everyone*.[33] She then proceeds with a fluent discourse in which she uses

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[33] The corresponding line on the Japanese version of this track is more obviously a filled pause: *E- e-, minasan?* (Um, um, everyone?)

Japanese words to name the gifts she has brought (lines 5, 8, and 12) amid otherwise standard English.

In line 9 of excerpt 6.3, Daddy joins Sonoko in producing Japanese words. Somewhat inexplicably he proclaims of his gift, *Oh, friendship. Sukiyaki. Great.* On numerous occasions Japanese members of Hippo Family Club have asked me why I think Daddy uses the word *sukiyaki*, which is the name of a Japanese dish consisting of beef and vegetables. I note that the same word is used in the Japanese version of the story (*Oh, furendoshippu. Sukiyaki. Kore wa ii*). I speculate that *sukiyaki* is one of a few Japanese words that, at least stereotypically, Americans might be expected to know. "Sukiyaki" was – for equally opaque reasons – the name given to singer Kyu Sakamoto's *Ue o muite arukō* upon its 1963 release in Great Britain and the United States. Although the Japanese love song has nothing to do with the dish, Pye Records in Britain, and then Capitol Records in the US, named the record with a recognizably Japanese word (Bronson 2003).

Apart from this handful of Japanese lexical items, Sonoko produces the rest of her utterances in fluent, native-like English that is not otherwise distinguished from that of the American characters in the vignette. At the end of the track (lines 36-38) Sonoko summarizes her experiences: *Even though I completely forgot to say 'How do you do?' they could understand my English*. Like Ichiro above, and like actual members' narratives in the "surprised by competence" genre, Sonoko finds that she is able to communicate despite her initial discomfort. She ends by explicitly evaluating her performance before yawning and falling asleep: *Good for me. Good for me.*

The thirty-two tracks of *Hippo Goes Overseas* follow Sonoko through her stay in America: She eats American food, goes to the 4-H fair, goes shopping, plays with Janet and her friends, and meets the Brown children's grandparents. Eventually she must pack to go home, and shares a tearful goodbye with Janet, who promises to visit her in Japan. Given the pedestrian nature of these activities, it is extremely easy to imagine oneself having similar experiences. Furthermore, there are sprinkled throughout the tracks repeated mentions of the fact that Sonoko is a member of a Hippo Family Club, including a letter she receives from the facilitator of her club in Tokyo, and a scene in which she teaches Janet and her friends some SADA activities. In this way, the story invites listeners who are also members of Hippo clubs to identify with Sonoko. Both Sonoko and the listeners are members of the same club; both speak foreign languages with some difficulty or trepidation; both engage in the same workaday activities such as eating, sleeping, shopping, and using the toilet, all of which are included in the narrative.

The highlighting of similarities without attention to specific differences seen in *Hippo Goes Overseas* is what Bucholtz and Hall (2004b) term *adequation*, a basic process in identity formation. Individuals are able to see themselves as members of the same group by focusing on the qualities that they share and downplaying or ignoring any differences among individuals. By presenting Sonoko as a typical Hippo Family Club member in many respects, and presenting a schematic, generic sense of her other qualities, the recordings make it very easy for club members to identify with her. Furthermore, at weekly Hippo meetings, members all join together to recite and

listen to the story together, allowing them to identify not only with Sonoko, but also with their co-present fellow club members, who similarly identify with her.

The use of kinship terms in the narrative, and its resemblance to the use of similar terms by club members, is also notable. In excerpt 6.3, Sonoko addresses her adult hosts as "Daddy" and "Mom," using the same kinship terms that their children, Janet and Dave, use to address them. When Mom introduces herself to Sonoko in excerpt 6.2, above, she does not give her name or suggest any term of address for herself, even as she introduces Janet, Connie, and Dave by name. Except for a single sentence in track seven of the thirty-two-track CD, where Mom uses the name "Alex" to address her partner, these characters are called Daddy and Mom. This use of kinship terms is reminiscent of the use of phrases such as "host mother" and "host father" as terms of reference in Hippo Family Club members' self-introductions and other talk during chapter meetings, as discussed in Chapter One.

From the beginning of *Hippo Goes Overseas* Sonoko integrates herself into the Brown family, identifying in particular with Janet. This process begins before the girls ever meet. In the first track of the story Janet writes a letter to Sonoko in which she tells her, "I'm twelve years old and my birthday is April twentieth." In the next track, Sonoko writes back and tells Janet, "I'm twelve years old, same as you." The process of identification begins by noting and emphasizing similarities. Once she arrives in America Sonoko lives as a member of the family, calling her hosts Mom and Daddy, and calling the children by their given names, just as Janet does. The two girls are constantly depicted together, and they participate in the same activities such

as sewing a dress for display at the 4-H fair. In the end, however, Sonoko returns to

Tokyo and it is her mother who provides the recording's final words in a track called

"A letter from Kanoko." Kanoko, Sonoko's mother, writes to Mr. and Mrs. Brown,

"We would like to express our hearty appreciation to you for your warm and kind

hospitality for my daughter Sonoko." The first person plural pronouns emphasize

Sonoko's reintegration with her mother, and establish the Brown family as providers

of hospitality rather than kin. Kanoko then offers to return the favor: "We are hoping

that Janet will be able to come and visit with our family next year."

Club members who have traveled abroad display a similar level of

identification with their host families as that seen in the recording. Individuals I have

interviewed or spoken with at chapter meetings often refer to their hosts with kinship

terms, but these terms are generally marked with the modifier *hosuto* or 'host.' For

example, when I interviewed Cory, a member of a LEX Language Project chapter in

Massachusetts, she described a reunion in the US with her former host sister from

Japan.

Interview with Cory, 3 March 2009

```
CORY: I've had Japanese guests (three/a few) times. One
of them was my uh host sister. teenager. And she was
over here doing her year in Virginia.

CDN: mm hm

CORY: And so I sent her a ticket said "Come on up. to
Boston, I'll give you fish." [CDN: h] She was losin her
mind about the steak.
```

Cory, who is in her fifties, refers to "my host sister," who she further describes as

"teenager." The relationship Cory feels toward her host sister is described not in terms

of joint action or mutual affection, but as a return of hospitality (*I sent her a ticket.* [I] *said, "I'll give you fish"*). This seems to suggest that the kinship terms used reflect not an identification with hosts as kin but simply as hosts, and possibly as fellow Hippo participants.

As Sonoko's experiences in *Hippo Goes Overseas* invite Hippo Family Club members to identify with her and with the club, so does the story told in *Multilingual Friends Around the World!* Where Sonoko takes a single trip to a place called only "America," the protagonist of *Multilingual Friends Around the World!*, Ichiro, is much more widely traveled. The narrative begins in *media res* with Ichiro and his friends Sang-woo from Korea and Li mei from Singapore traveling to Mexico. We are told that they met as students in Wisconsin. Eight tracks on the CD then describe some highlights of Ichiro's experience in the US. Ichiro meets Sang-woo, Li mei, local student Mark (see excerpt 6.1, above), and Belinda from Mexico. Other tracks show Ichiro's first day of school, seeing an American football game, doing poorly on a test, and taking Belinda to the Prom. These experiences are somewhat more varied and more specific than those of Sonoko, yet by constantly emphasizing the idea that his membership in Hippo has made the experience possible, Hippo members are still invited to identify with Ichiro.

Compared to Sonoko's experiences in *Hippo Goes Overseas*, Ichiro's experiences in *Multilingual Friends Around the World!* are relatively extraordinary. There is much more international travel; in addition to Ichiro attending Wisconsin High School, Sang-woo comes to Japan to meet Ichiro, and then the two of them

travel to Singapore to attend Li mei's wedding. In the final four tracks of the CD, Ichiro, Sang-woo, and Li mei travel to Mexico together to attend a "Transnational Camp" where they are reunited with Belinda and Mark. Where *Hippo Goes Overseas* shows a single trip made more identifiable by highlighting everyday experiences, in *Multilingual Friends Around the World!* Ichiro travels to three distant locales, and hosts one friend from abroad. The activities highlighted include some special events such as the first day of school, a prom, and a wedding. The narrative suggests that extraordinary activities are nonetheless accessible, and that membership in Hippo Family Club facilitates access to them.

Excerpt 6.4, track four from the scripted CD, show's Ichiro's introduction to his classmates during his first day at Wisconsin High School. When he is asked to introduce himself, Ichiro mentions that he is a member of Hippo Family Club. His teacher then professes an interest in the club, and his fellow students are fascinated by his description of it. All of this makes club membership seem particularly valuable and appealing.

Excerpt 6.4. The Exchange Student Orientation (MFAW Engl 04)

Myers: Hello, everyone. My name is Mrs. Nancy Myers.
We'll now begin the orientation for exchange students.
Here at Wisconsin High School we have exchange students from all over the world.
How many countries do you suppose are represented right here in this classroom today? Let's see... Germany, Mexico, Korea, Brazil, Japan, Russia, China... and Turkey, right? That's eight countries, isn't it.
So to start things off, I'd like each of you to introduce yourself.
Belinda Castillo, could you go first?

Belinda: Hi, Everybody.

My name is Belinda Castillo and I'm from Mexico.
I live in Mexico City, the capital.
My hobbies are watching movies, listening to music, and reading.
There are five people in my family: my parents, my two sisters and me.
I look forward to getting to know all of you this year.

Myers: Thank you, Belinda.
Okay, who's next?
Sang-woo Park, how about you?

((twelve lines omitted))

Myers: All right, Ichiro Kihara, how about you?

Ichiro: Hi, everybody. I'm Ichiro Kihara.
I'm from Japan.
I'm a member of the Hippo Family Club there.
It's a club where you can learn lots of languages naturally with your friends.

Myers: What? You say you're a member of Hippo?
I read a Hippo book about math called "Who is Fourier?".
Ichiro, why don't you tell us a little bit about Hippo?

Ichiro: Sure, I'd be happy to!
At Hippo, we learn languages the fun way, without studying.
If you're wondering how we do that, think of the way a little baby learns its first language. First, we create an environment where we can hear other languages.
We listen to recordings of stories in various languages while we're at home or in our car, or wherever.
And we get together with our families and friends of all different ages.
We sing, dance and play games together.
It's great fun to sing the sounds.

Belinda: Sing sounds, you say? So you like karaoke, too?

Ichiro: No, that's not what I mean.
When we mimic a story, we try to catch the natural melody and rhythm of the language, as if we were singing a song.
At Hippo we call that "singing the sounds."
Even when you find it hard to sing something by yourself, it's easy and fun if you do it with other people.

Belinda: Hmm, that does sound interesting.

    Ichiro: We also have exchange programs with people from all over the world.
    ((continues for 23 lines))

In this track, Belinda, Sang-woo, and Ichiro are each asked to introduce themselves to their fellow exchange students. Belinda holds the floor through six sentences in which she introduces her hometown, hobbies, and family members. In a portion omitted here, Sang-woo holds the floor for about the same amount of time as he introduces his hometown and hobbies. In contrast, Ichiro introduces only the country, not the city of his origin and his interest in Hippo Family Club. At this the teacher, Mrs. Myers, professes an interest in Hippo and asks Ichiro to speak more about it. Ichiro's discussion of Hippo activities is about five times as long as Belinda or Sang-woo's self-introductions (additional talk about the home-stay program and LEX publications is omitted from the excerpt). In addition, both Mrs. Myers and Belinda help co-construct the discourse with questions and appreciations.

    Ichiro is able to speak more voluminously than any other speaker in this excerpt because he assumes an authority to speak and to impose reception. This authority to speak is what Pierre Bourdieu terms *expanded competence* (1977a: 646). Not only is Ichiro able to produce grammatical utterances – the traditional sense of competence in theoretical linguistics – but he is also able to command the attention of the group. This latter ability comes both from the interactional setting and from Ichiro's acquired knowledge and abilities, his *symbolic capital* (Bourdieu 1977a: 646). In terms of interaction, Ichiro repeatedly takes the floor in response to questions from Mrs. Meyers and from Belinda. He then holds the floor by constructing

narratives or other tellings (Schegloff 2003) that respond to his audiences'

expectations. In terms of symbolic capital, Ichiro's talk is relaxed and easy. He shows

no disfluency; he uses complex syntactic structures, and (contrary to excerpt 6.1) he

betrays no insecurity about his own language ability. This relaxed ability is what

Bourdieu calls "the hallmark of distinction" (1977a: 659) that characterizes the

speech of members of the dominant classes. Unlike second language speakers, or

those whose language varieties mark them as members of undervalued groups within

their society, members of the dominant classes are able to speak prestige dialects

without self-consciousness or obvious effort, thereby securing their dominant

positions. Even though the character Ichiro has recently arrived in Wisconsin from

Yokohama, his relaxed production of standard American English gives him a position

of distinction.

Where Sonoko's story in *Hippo Goes Overseas* invites members to identify

with her and with Hippo by highlighting mundane activities common in all of the

areas where the club operates, Ichiro's experiences suggest to members that their

Hippo identity is valuable and desirable. The tactic of adequation, the emphasis of

shared characteristics, is especially visible in Sonoko's story, while the tactic of

distinction, the emphasis of difference, is equally highlighted in Ichiro's. In *Hippo*

Goes Overseas, Sonoko overcomes her initial unease at speaking English while

interacting with her host family in everyday activities such as eating, shopping, and

packing. In *Multilingual Friends Around the World!*, Ichiro attends a prom, a

wedding, and an international meeting of Hippo members in countries around the

world, while constantly reminding listeners that these extraordinary experiences are

facilitated by membership in Hippo Family Club. The qualities that make Ichiro

special are therefore available to anyone who would become a Hippo club member.

Indeed, by the end of the story Sang-woo and Belinda have joined local Hippo Family

Club chapters in Korea and Mexico, and Mark and his sister Michelle vow to

introduce Hippo activities in Wisconsin.

Excerpt 6.5. Night at the Camp (MFAW Engl 26)

> Belinda: Michelle and Mark, why don't you join Hippo when you get back
> home?
> Mark: Huh? But there's no Hippo club in Wisconsin.
> Sang-woo: So you could start one yourselves!
> Michelle: But we don't know anything about it!
> Belinda: You'll be fine! I'll go help you out.
> Ichiro:
> Sang-woo: We'll go too!
> Belinda: Hey, then we can all meet again!
> Mark: Well, if you all show up, maybe we really could do it, huh?
> Michelle: That would be so cool if you all came to help out!
> Mark: All right then, we can start with our family.
> Li mei: That's right, and then little by little you can introduce Hippo to your
> friends and neighbors.
> Michelle: Then it's settled! We'll get started as soon as we get back to the States!
> Wow, I'm so excited!

Like membership in a religious group or a fraternal organization, Hippo Family Club

imbues its members with a distinct identity that promises specific advantages, yet

membership is available to anyone who chooses to pursue it.

If the Hippo tapes promise membership in a transnational family, speeches

delivered by club members at weekly meetings suggest that they accept the promised

position. The following examples of *jikoshokai* (self-introduction) speeches delivered

by club members at weekly meetings of Karagoku Family in Japan are closely

modeled on two tracks from the recording *Hippo Goes Overseas* in which Janet and

Sonoko introduce themselves.

Excerpt 6.6 presents the second track of the recording, *Hippo Goes Overseas*.

In this track, called "A Letter from Janet," Janet Brown introduces herself and her

family in a letter to Sonoko Ogura, the Hippo Family Club member who will soon

visit the family. Again, the excerpt is transcribed from the commercial audio CD.

Excerpt 6.6. A Letter from Janet (HGO Engl 02)

```
 1   May fifteenth, nineteen eighty two.
 2   Dear Sonoko
 3   ((music 0.4))
 4   Hi Sonoko.
 5   I'm Janet Brown.
 6   I'm twelve years old, and my birthday is April twentieth.
 7   I'm sending you a picture of me.
 8   I'm glad that you are coming to stay with us during this summer.
 9   It will be lo:ts of fun.
10   I like swimming,
11   and also sewing, cooking, and drawing.
12   My family members are my dad, my mom, an older sister Cynthia,
13   my older brother Terry,
14   younger brother David,
15   and sister Connie.
16   We have cows, horses, sheep, pigs, chickens, cats and a dog.
17   I have my own cow named Blackie,
18   and my own bird named Pretty Baby Bluebird.
19   We are a:ll waiting for you.
20   Yours,
21   Janet.
22   ((music 5.2))
```

After the title of the story is presented in track one, track two is the first to advance

the recording's narrative. Although it is an audio recording, the track represents

written communication via its title, "A Letter from Janet," and the presence of a

single voice on the track. While music plays under the speaking voice, there are no

other sounds that could be considered part of the track's narrative events. Janet first

gives her name (line 5), then her age and birthday (6). She lists her hobbies (10-11),

the members of her family (12-15), and some salient information about her household

– specifically, the presence of various livestock on what is presumably a farm (lines

16-18). Janet then closes with a personal wish (*We are all waiting for you*, line 19)

and then a formulaic closing (20-21). The letter from Janet serves as a prototype for

jikoshoukai (self-introductions) at weekly Hippo meetings.

Excerpt 6.7 comes from a weekly Karagoku Family meeting, which I video

recorded during participant observation in 2006. In this excerpt, ten-year-old Ryo lists

the members of his family and his hobbies, much as Janet does in the fictional story.

Ryo speaks Spanish in this excerpt. English translations are provided in double

parenthesis, within single quotes. See Appendix A for full transcription conventions.

Excerpt 6.7. FC002 18:39 (21 February 2006)

```
38   Ryo    mi famila                  (('my family'))
39   Tanaka mi famila                  (('my family'))
40   Ryo    es formada . >padre, madre,< ((points to each family
41          member)) mi hermano m:enor?  ((looks at Sky))
            (('Is formed . father, mother, my younger? brother'))
42   Sky    [hermano menor ((looks at Tanaka-papa)) menor
                                        (('younger brother   younger'))
43   Tanaka [hermano major a- menor (('older brother oh- younger'))
44   Sky    y ((looks at album))     (('and'))
45   Ryo     >K--, S--<
     ((16 lines omitted from transcript))
62   Ryo    a mi me gusta, tocar piano, (('I like to play piano'))
63   Tanaka [piano,                    (('piano'))
64   Ryo    [ski,                      (('ski'))
65   Tanka  ski                        (('ski'))
66   Ryo    futbol,                    (('soccer'))
```

Ryo lists the members of his family (lines 38-45), much as Janet does in the story. (*My family is composed* [of my] *father, mother, younger brother K* [and] *S.*) There are some grammatical idiosyncrasies in Ryo's second-language speech, such as the absence of plural marking or a coordinating conjunction, but these are not treated as significant by the other members of the club. There is some discussion of linguistic form as Ryo, Sky, and Tanaka-papa negotiate over the correct Spanish phrase for "younger brothers" for the next sixteen lines, omitted from this excerpt. (This meta-discussion is initiated by Tanaka-papa's "*hermano major a- menor*" (older brother oh-younger) at line 43.) Then at lines 62-66 Ryo lists his favorite activities. Again, Ryo's speech is clearly modeled on Janet's introduction of her own hobbies as seen in excerpt 6.6, lines 10-11.

Excerpt 6.8 shows another self-introduction at Karagoku Family, again closely modeled on "A Letter from Janet" on the recording *Hippo Goes Overseas*. In Excerpt 6.8, recorded at Karagoku Family in March of 2006, a few weeks after the exchange shown in excerpt 6.7, five-year-old Taro-kun introduces himself. You may recall from Chapter Three that Taro-kun regularly introduces himself in English, and that he relies on help from his mother, Mikan, as well as other club members to help him recall the content of his speech. All of the members of the club are familiar with this content, not only because it is well-rehearsed at weekly meetings, but also because it closely resembles "A Letter from Janet" and other self-introductions modeled on the CD.

Excerpt 6.8. Taro-kun jikoshoukai. 24 March 2006

```
 1   Taro    My name is T-- H--.
 2   Tanaka  Yeah.
 3   Taro    My nickname, Taro-kun.
 4   Tanaka  [Yeah.
 5   Sky     [Yeah.
 6   Taro    Please call me Taro-kun.
 7   ALL     TARO-KUN
 8   Taro    My birthday
 9   (2.2)
10   Mikan   °September°
11   Taro    September
12   Mikan   °°ninth°°
13   Taro    ninth,
14   (3.0)
15   ((Mikan holds up five fingers))
16   (1.8)
17   Mikan   (unintelligible – may have silently mouthed words)
18   Taro    five years old.
19   Tanaka  Yeah.
20   Sky     mm
21   Tanaka  (oh/old)
22   (1.6) ((Mikan turns page of kamishibai))
23   Taro    I live in
24   Tanaka  Sí                        ((Spanish: 'yes'))
25   Tanaka  °Osaka prefecture°
26   Hiro    (unintelligible)
27   Tanaka  Sou iu ka.                (('Does (he) say it like that?'))
28   Tanaka  K-- [city,
29   Taro        [K-- [s:
30   Sky              [city
31   Taro    city,
32   Sky     K-- cho,
33   Taro    K-- cho,
34   Sky     near,
35   Taro    near,
36   Sky     Makudonarudo          (('McDonald's restaurant'))
37   Taro    McDonalds.
38   Sky     [(laughs and claps hands)
39   Tanaka  [McDONalds
40   ((all clap and laugh for about 5 seconds))
41   Taro    I like
42   Tanaka  I [like
43   Taro       [Thomas.
44   Tanaka  [THOMas
45   Sky     [Thomas
46   Tanaka  yeah.
47   Taro    I want to go England.
48   Tanaka  yeah.
49   Taro    I want to meet (3.0)
50   Taro    Thomas.
51   Tanaka  Yeah.
52   Sky     °I want to go with you.°
```

```
53   Tanaka  (laughs)
54   Taro    Nice to meet you.
```

Like Janet's introduction shown in excerpt 6.6, Taro-kun starts by giving his name (line 1) and then in a portion of the weekly *jikoshoukai* ritual that departs slightly from the recordings, asks to be called by his club nickname (3-7). Again like Janet, Taro-kun gives his age and his birthday (lines 8-18). Where Janet started with her age, Taro-kun at first gives only his birthday. His mother Mikan, who helped him with both English words *September* and *ninth*, reminds him to include his age by holding up five fingers (line 15) and perhaps also helping him remember the word in English, though it is not clear in the video recording exactly what she is saying at this point.

Taro-kun gives salient information about his home (lines 29-37) much as Janet does. Where the farm-dwelling Janet lists her livestock, though, the town-dwelling Taro-kun gives his city and ward name, and the house's proximity to a McDonald's restaurant. This recitation is quite routine, repeated in roughly the same form each week. The fact that Taro-kun pronounces *McDonald's* in a more English-like way than does Sky in her prompt occasions a good deal of laughter and other appreciation from his audience (38-40). Finally, at line 54, Taro-kun closes with a formulaic phrase as Janet had done. Where Janet's *Yours, Janet* is appropriate for a letter, Taro-kun's *Nice to meet you* is appropriate to a spoken introduction.

As excerpts 6.7 and 6.8 suggest, some of the talk during weekly meetings is modeled on the content of the LEX audio recordings. This enhances the opportunity for members to identify with the characters in the narratives presented in the recordings; both the characters and the members at weekly meetings produce the

same type of discourse. Similarities are highlighted by sticking closely to generic expectations for self-introductions. Specific differences are not treated as significant. For example, although Taro-kun produces long pauses, including pauses at places where transition to another speaker would be appropriate (e.g. lines 14, 22), no other club member attempts to take the floor. Despite frequent minimal responses and even co-construction by others, Taro-kun's introduction is treated as if it were monologic discourse, as Janet's is. Thus, through the process of adequation Taro-kun is identified with Janet and Sonoko as a Hippo club member.

Furthermore, this Hippo identity is ascribed not only to Taro-kun, but also to Ryo (excerpt 6.7) and to all members of the local chapter. Each in turn holds the floor; each in turn produces some speech that is viewed as adequately Hippo, or else is encouraged to add to the speech until it is adequate, as I was during my first few meetings (Chapter 1). We now have two different levels of identification: identification with the fictional protagonists, and identification with fellow chapter members who are also identified with those protagonists. Members also know, both from the ideal Hippo world depicted in the recordings, and from the testimony of fellow club members, that Hippo meetings are going on in other places at the same time. Through simultaneity and adequation of club practices, the individual can identify with a broad world of fellow Hippo members. Like a fractal, a similar pattern can be seen at different scales, with minor differences merely adding to the appreciation, not disrupting the sense of self-similarity.

6.3. The construction of cosmopolitan citizenship

Repetition of narratives from the Hippo recordings at local Hippo chapter meetings encourages individuals to identify not only with the characters described in the stories but also with their fellow club members, with whom they share the narratives. This shift from envisioning similarities with the fictional characters to seeing similarities with fellow club members then becomes available for a further shift, to imagining "horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 1983) with members of other Hippo Family Club or LEX Language Project chapters all over the world.

As nationalism is imagined as a relationship with fellow citizens of the nation-state, cosmopolitan citizenship is imagined as a relationship with fellow club members that transcends states, borders, and cultures. As members come to see themselves as part of the club, and to see the club as transnational, they see themselves as cosmopolitan by virtue of membership.

Ulf Hannerz (1996) defines the cosmopolitan as one who is willing to engage with others across cultural and geographic boundaries. The cosmopolitan not only travels to various locales distant from home, but seeks to know the cultures of these places. Cosmopolitans regard cultures both with the eye of a connoisseur and that of a critic. Foreign cultures are consumed and enjoyed as proof of one's own cosmopolitan status, but at the same time the cosmopolitan crucially develops a competence in understanding cultural practices so as to immerse herself or himself in them. Cosmopolitans share a "culture of critical discourse" (Hannerz 1996: 107), a reflexive orientation toward the discourses of cultural meaning. Where locals understand their

own cultures implicitly as common sense, cosmopolitans strive for an explicit understanding of diverse norms for interaction and communication in order to master them.

Hannerz distinguishes the cosmopolitan from the tourist or the refugee. Where cosmopolitans seek to understand distinct cultural and communicative practices, tourists generally seek "home plus" (Hannerz 1996: 104). That is, the tourist wishes to experience the cultural practices of home – speaking the language of home, eating familiar foods, engaging in familiar leisure activities – amid natural pluses such as sunshine and beaches, or the cultural pluses of local color, displays of 'tradition' experienced from outside. Hannerz suggests that some refugees also seek the culture of home with the pluses of safety and security, or in the case of economic migrants, higher income. These refugees or migrants surround themselves with the language and other cultural practices of home by forming enclaves with fellow refugees.

Are Hippos, then, cosmopolitans in Hannerz's sense, or are they merely tourists? Like tourists Hippo Family Club members may bring elements their own culture with them as they travel. As relatively empowered, even privileged members of the middle class they can expect their hosts to appreciate and validate these expressions of their home cultures. Consider, for example Sonoko's experience of sharing culturally specific gifts in excerpt 6.3, above. When Sonoko presents Daddy with *kakejiku* (a calligraphy scroll), he recognizes it as an expression of Japanese tradition. When she presents Mom with *furoshiki* (a wrapping cloth), Mom invites Sonoko to share her specific cultural competence by explaining how it is used.[34]

---

[34] I am grateful to Adam Hodges for calling this point to my attention.

On the other hand, most members of Hippo Family Club seek not to experience their own home culture in different locations, but to know something of foreign cultures. Many club members, in fact, never travel to Europe or Asia. Yet what they claim to value is their knowledge of the Chinese, English, French, German, Korean, and Spanish languages, as well as the access to the people and cultures of diverse nations that this knowledge affords them.

Hippo Family Club members often experience connection to foreign culture vicariously, either through fellow club members who have traveled abroad or by hosting visitors from overseas. After a club member goes abroad through the transnational exchange program, she or he shares this experience both with the members of her or his own local chapter and with other members by visiting their chapters as well. About once every two months while I was participating with Karagoku Family, members from other Hippo chapters in the area would come to weekly meetings and tell us about their recent travel to Mexico, France, Italy, or Korea. During this same time, members hosted visitors from the United States, Russia, Malaysia, and Indonesia. On each of these occasions, all of the members of Karagoku Family would hold a party to welcome the foreign guests. These visitors also came to weekly Family meetings where they were asked to tell us both something about their home country and their impressions of Japan.

Both the emphasis on language learning and the vicarious connection to foreign cultures suggest that rather than personal experiences of natural settings, part of what Hannerz (1996) calls "home plus," what Hippo members value is forms of

knowledge that give them access to a transnational culture. By, for example, speaking German, club members do not wish to identify with local people in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, or elsewhere. Rather, they wish to have access to these and other places, and to identify as transnational Hippos.

This desire for cosmopolitan citizenship and access to global cultures helps explain why Hippo Family Club sets its goal as *tagengo* (multilingualism) rather than, say, mastery of global English. Unlike diplomats, foreign correspondents, or managers of international businesses, whose expertise promises membership in their own transnational professional culture wherever they may find themselves, Hippo members seek access to global cultural flows from a position in their own local chapter meetings. This access can be imagined by seeing oneself as master of multiple culturally-specific practices: that is, as the speaker of multiple languages. The linguist competence that Hippo-style language learning affords gives members the ability to carry out basic interpersonal communication with whatever speakers may come along. Much larger than the pool of actual speakers encountered, though, is the world of speakers the learner now has the potential to connect with. Each new language learned further increases this potential.

This potential transnational community is, like nationalism, an imagined community (Anderson 1983). No individual member will travel to more than a fraction of the locales that Hippo Family Club promises them access to. Nor will they meet or hear from more than a tiny fraction of the people who comprise the transnational community. Yet the considerable distance and significant differences

among Hippo members are ignored or erased, and real or imagined similarities are emphasized. Through this process of adequation (Bucholtz and Hall 2004b), club membership is constructed as a specific social position which Hippos share. The frequent rehearsal of club discourses at weekly meetings and other club events is used to authenticate Hippo's transnational culture. No individual can actually access the entire world, but Hippo's brand of cosmopolitan citizenship promises members at least the potential to do so.

Conclusions
"We live by creating a language network and using that network
to find resonance with other humans."
(track 1, *Anyone Can Speak 7 Languages!*)

In February of 2006 the city of Osaka held a fair called the One World Festival. The event was an opportunity for various non-governmental agencies, schools, churches, and community groups to present their work to the people of Osaka. After our weekly Karagoku Family meeting that Saturday, Sky, Tanaka-papa, Ryo, Keichan, Shin, and I took the train into Osaka to attend the event.

We stopped outside the One World Festival where there were rows of vendors selling various ethnic foods to eat our lunch. I ate a sandwich of Costa Rican chorizo, firmer and less acidic than the Mexican chorizo I was accustomed to. Sky had hummus and shish tawook; Shin had curried chicken, though he seemed more interested in the mango lassi. Sky asked me, "*Dou desu ka*" (How is it?). "*Un. Oishii*" (Yes, it's delicious), I answered.

After we had eaten and entered the meeting hall, Ryo and Keichan wandered off to look at the various displays while Sky took Shin and me to a counter in the back of the hall. A local group was raising funds by charging one hundred yen to try on one of the various ethnic costumes they had on display. Sky convinced me to don what I was told was a traditional Mongolian robe and hat and then took my picture with the camera of her cell phone (figure 7.1). Shin put on a white *thawb* (robe) and *taqiyah* (cap) like that worn in many Arab regions, and Sky wore a long pink *hanbok* Korean dress.

Figure 7.1. The author dressed in Mongolian hat and robe at the Osaka One World Festival, 8 February 2006

Our behavior at this event seems to be that of the typical tourist. Both the consumption of stereotypically ethnic foods and the viewing and photographing of traditional clothing are standard tourist behaviors. Not only did we view this traditional clothing, we wore it ourselves. We were pleased to see ourselves in a novel, somewhat exotic light.

In a number of ways, however, our behavior was not that of the typical tourist. First, and perhaps most notably, we had not traveled to a distant locale. We were in Osaka, a few dozen kilometers from the Tanaka home, to experience sights not typical of Osaka but those associated with Turkey, Costa Rica, India, Mongolia, and other nations. In this sense we were perhaps virtual tourists.

Secondly, we came with no expectation of an authentic experience. John Urry (2003) suggests that a desire for authenticity is of characteristic importance to the romantic gaze. The romantic gaze is a particular type of tourist gaze, one that is predicated on a semi-spiritual experience of pristine nature in isolation from other people. Urry contrasts the romantic gaze with the collective gaze, in which tourism is

enjoyed not because it affords isolation from other people, but because it places the tourist among other people. Urry suggests that the collective gaze is key to the touristic enjoyment of large cities, "whose uniqueness is their cosmopolitan character. The presence of people from all over the world (tourists in other words) gives capital cities their distinct excitement and glamour" (2003: 120).

This suggests a third difference between our behavior and that said to be typical of tourists. As described in Chapter Six, Hippo Family Club members seem to regard foreign cultures from a position in between that of the tourist and that of the cosmopolitan. Ulf Hannerz (1996) suggests that the tourist wishes to enjoy elements of the culture of home, such as familiar language, food, and health and safety standards, amid exotic natural vistas. These natural vistas are the object of the romantic gaze that Urry (2003) associates with upper- and middle-class tourism. But Hannerz separates the tourist from the cosmopolitan, who he says wishes not simply to view foreign cultures from the outside but to understand them so as to display a competence resembling that of the local. Unlike the local, the cosmopolitan's cultural competence is a result of the conscious analysis of cultural norms and behaviors. This critical or reflexive orientation toward culture can then be applied not only to foreign cultures but also to the practice of the home culture.

While Sky and Shin were selecting their costumes and trying them on, Tanaka-papa and I were discussing foreign language learning. I had had a particularly frustrating week in my intensive Japanese language classes. I told Tanaka-papa that I didn't think the constant drilling of syntactic structures that we practiced in class each

day had any effect on my abilities to read, write, or speak Japanese. Tanaka-papa agreed; he suggested that when he was in school, he had studied English grammar but had not developed an ability to speak English. The ability to actually use a language, we agreed, develops through interaction with other language users. While he was critical of the teaching methods he had encountered in his own school days, though, Tanaka-papa expressed faith that Hippo activities were a means to acquiring this competence. For Tanaka-papa Hippo activities include not only the memorization and recitation of scripted texts, but also interaction with other people, including both Hippo Family Club members and non-members such as those at the One World Festival.

The stance of Hippo Family Club members thus seems to be somewhere between Urry's collective tourists and Hannerz's cosmopolitans. Most of the club members I met during my field work in Japan and the United States sought to cultivate within themselves a level of linguistic and cultural competence that would connect them to people in diverse cultures and locales. Members imagine a connection with a transnational community, most of whose members they will never see face-to-face. They take particular pleasure in travel or in interactions with visitors from abroad, since these interactions provide both the joys of interpersonal contact and a reinforcement of the infinite potential of cosmopolitan citizenship.

In the preceding chapters I have argued that Hippo Family Club offers its members in Japan and the United States access to a form of cosmopolitan citizenship through the control of multiple languages. Cosmopolitan citizenship is a view of

oneself as both connected to fellow club members in a global community, and knowledgeable and competent to interact with others across the borders of the nation-state. In Japan, Hippo's comparatively democratic, student-centered approach to learning, as well as its view of identity constructed via interpersonal connections not rooted in the state or the ethnic group are seen as a departure from traditional ideologies of language learning and language and identity. In the United States, even though LEX Language Project uses the same materials that Hippo Family Club uses in Japan and talks about them in largely similar ways, club members understand cosmopolitan citizenship not as a break with tradition but as a continuation of liberal, multicultural practices in education and other institutions centered on the individual and not the state.

This project, which is based primarily on ethnographic methods, especially participant observation, began when I was a student in Japan and was introduced to members of Karagoku Family. I originally joined Karagoku Family hoping to find a community of bilingual speakers and only gradually realized that Hippo Family Club's approach to foreign language learning provides an ethnographically and linguistically interesting site for the study of language practice and language learning in late modernity. The communities of the globalized world are increasingly comprised of imagined, transnational connections such as those seen in Hippo Family Club.

The Hippo Family Club approach to language learning has three main parts. First, the Hippo tapes, also called LEX CDs, present audio recordings of scripted

narratives translated into multiple languages and read by actors. Club members listen to these tapes repeatedly and eventually come to memorize their content. Promotional materials and discussion at club activities encourage members not to concern themselves with referential meaning or syntactic patterns, but simply to concentrate on the overall form of the recordings, to *nami ni notte miru* (try to ride the wave). In this way, Hippo members believe that they will acquire language ability naturally, in the same way that children acquire their native languages.

The second part of the Hippo approach is weekly meetings. At hundreds of local clubs all over Japan and at four club chapters in Massachusetts members meet each week to play games together, to listen to the Hippo tapes, and to recite prepared speeches modeled on the content of those recordings. This constant practice together not only serves as a means to acquire language ability but also binds club members together in a social group that Japanese members typically label with the English word *family*.

The third portion of the Hippo method is participation with what the club's organizers in Tokyo call the 'Transnational Exchange Program,' but which members usually call 'home-stay.' This program allows members to travel abroad and to stay in the homes of local people in numerous countries. The program also allows Hippo Family Club members to host visitors from abroad in their own homes. Unlike listening to recordings or attending weekly meetings, not all members participate in the home-stay program. Yet the program's existence, and members' talk about it,

allows all club members to imagine themselves as at least potentially linked to a community of diverse people in locations around the world.

As described in Chapter Two, this study draws from several approaches to the study of language in its social settings, including linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, and the sociology of language. The study is intended as a work of sociocultural linguistics, related to multiple disciplines within that interdisciplinary field. Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall (2008) define sociocultural linguistics as a coalition approach to the study of language in society with roots in anthropology, sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, and other fields. Chapter Two reviewed some of the history of calls for and approaches to socially oriented analyses of language in a variety of fields. I have positioned this work in between the traditional concerns and approaches of multiple fields because I believe that not only an interdisciplinary coalition among scholars but also a flexible approach to data is necessary to understand the ideologies of language learning in Hippo Family Club and their effects on club members' views of themselves and their societies.

The analysis in this study relies on both ethnographic methods and discourse analysis. Methods including participant observation and ethnographic interviewing are necessary to give the analyst a view of language practices and language ideologies as they are experienced by the participants themselves. Sociolinguistic studies of language in globalization have too often focused on languages themselves, including either the effect of global languages on local communities or the reshaping of languages within those communities. This study is interested not in languages as such

but in the ways that they are used and experienced by individuals in particular settings. Ethnography allows such a view from the ground. This localized view is also achieved by using methods of discourse analysis that draw from the practice and insights of conversation analysis and other socially situated methods. The behaviors of individual club members are situated within complex systems of discourse, including local club norms and wider norms of society. Close analysis of discourse grounds the understanding of these systems. Since these systems are learned throughout a lifetime of social interaction, ethnographic study also helps to ensure that the discourse analyst can, to the greatest degree possible, see what the participants see in their interactions.

In Chapter Three we reviewed ideologies of language learning, including both past work and the the specific ideologies visible among Hippo Family Club members in Japan. The term *ideology* is used in this work as a neutral descriptor of any set of beliefs about language and learning that influences approaches to the study of second or foreign languages. The work of Shirley Brice Heath (1977) on ideologies underlying language planning in the United States is particularly useful to the analyses developed in Chapters Three and Four. Heath described two understandings of the role of language education in society: the *policy approach* (Heath 1977: 54), in which the purpose of language learning is understood to be bringing linguistic minorities into line with the majority, and the *cultivation approach* (Heath 1977: 54), in which language learning is seen as a means for speakers to expand their own knowledge and abilities. Heath suggests that when the ideologies of government or

school policy makers do not align with those of learners, education or other language planning does not serve those at whom it is directed.

Of particular interest for the analysis in Chapter Three are past studies of the relationship between ethnic or national identity and language learning in Japan. Simon Downes (2001), for instance, found that some Japanese parents were reluctant to see their children educated in bilingual schools, citing a concern that being bilingual would make the children less Japanese. Work by Nanette Gottlieb (2005), John Maher (1995, 2001, Maher and Yashiro 1995), and others explores the belief that the Japanese language is an essential element of Japanese identity, so that the truest and most typical Japanese person is a monolingual Japanese speaker. Such beliefs serve both as an explanation for the relative lack of multilingual speakers in Japanese schools and as justification for an educational system that stresses grammatical knowledge over communicative ability.

Hippo Family Club positions its approach to language learning as a rejection of traditional, grammar centered approaches, one that is based on an understanding of natural language acquisition. I call the traditional approach to teaching English in Japanese schools *language as physics*, since, like the teaching of physics at the secondary-school level, it stresses the memorization of formulas and the ability to manipulate rules. In contrast, I call the approach that Hippo Family Club offers *language as script*. Club members are encouraged to memorize the content of the Hippo tapes and to recite them repeatedly in order to stimulate language acquisition. This approach resembles the audio-lingual method of foreign language teaching that

was popular in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s, in that it encourages students to memorize set texts without concern for creativity, the ability of language learners to manipulate finite grammatical systems to produce essentially infinite utterances. The Hippo method also resembles some aspects of the communicative approach, a general approach to language learning that encourages communication among learners without concern for grammatical models, and which was particularly popular among foreign language educators during the 1980s.

The analysis of discourse at a Karagoku Family weekly meeting presented in Chapter Three illustrates the language-as-script ideology in two ways. First, a memorized speech is presented. Both the designated speaker, Taro-kun, and the other members of the club expect this speech to reproduce the same content in the same order that it has been delivered in past weeks. Club members, including Taro-kun's mother, Mikan, prompt Taro to deliver his next line in the script as needed. When Taro-kun and Mikan ask for assistance in translating a word, their call is not immediately heard as a request for translation but as a request for the next line of the script. In the second portion of the discourse, Mikan relates Taro-kun's experience speaking English in kindergarten. She describes Taro-kun reciting his usual memorized speech and singing the song "London Bridge," an accomplishment that his fellow club members declare to be *sugoi* (great). During this entire interaction, my presence and in particular my status as a native speaker of English are not treated as significant. Thus, it appears that the goal of Taro-kun's language practice is not an ability to interact with other English speakers, but to reproduce his script.

Chapter Four treats ideologies of language learning in the United States, which differ from those in Japan. Since Heath's (1977) description of the mismatch between the policy approach and the cultivation approach to language learning, a number of scholars have described differing treatment of native speakers of English and speakers of languages other than English in the US. For the former, learning a foreign language is seen as the cultivation of a social, educational, and economic asset. For the latter, the maintenance of the home language is seen as a distraction from the goal of rapidly acquiring English ability like that of a monolingual speaker. The appearance of non-English elements in such individuals' speech is seen as a social problem (Urciuoli 1996, Lippi-Green 1997, Zentella 1997, inter alia). LEX Language Project, the American branch of Hippo Family Club, promises multilingual ability to primarily middle-class English speakers. It therefore does not conflict with widely held goals for language learning in the United States.

As described in Chapter Four, members view LEX Language Project's approach to the learning of multiple languages not as a sharp break from traditional education, as Hippo Family Club is in Japan, but as a continuation of an American tradition of various child-centered approaches to education competing in a market of ideas. I have argued that central control of educational bureaucracy by the Ministry of Education in Japan since the end of the post-war occupation (Horio 1988, James and Benjamin 1988, Lincicome 2009, inter alia) leads to a situation in which Japanese Hippo members to see the club's new approach as a revolution. In contrast, in the United States, where local school boards enact local governance over education

(Stevenson and Nerison-Low 2002, Tracy 2007, inter alia), the LEX approach is simply part of an evolution.

Chapter Four also examines the effect of four political ideologies on approaches to language policy in the United States: liberalism, republicanism, ethnoculturalism, and incorporationism (Schildkraut 2005). While American-style liberalism, an inheritance from John Locke and other Enlightenment thinkers (Hartz 1955), may be used to justify the maintenance of individual multilingualism, related ideas of neo-liberalism are used to argue for societal monolingualism. Under the neo-liberal view of individual competition for economic success, provision of services only in English is seen as a spur for speakers of other languages to learn the economically powerful global language. Republicanism, which to some extent competes with liberalism as key political value in the United States, is also used to justify both multilingual and monolingual state policy. Civic republicanism, which stresses "virtuous individual responsibility" to prevent coercive government (Slaughter 2005), is sometimes appealed to in order to argue that all members of the society must speak the same language in order to participate in the republic. As often, though, supporters argue that society must be multilingual so that the largest possible number of Americans can participate in governance.

Finally, two views of identity and citizenship affect debates over language policy. Ethnoculturalism, which defines citizenship in ethnic and cultural terms and relates American citizenship with English language ability, supports the establishment of a single national language. Incorporationism, which stresses the construction of

American nationality from diverse immigrant cultures, supports individual bilingualism.

The differing language ideologies associated with these political ideologies generally agree in placing English either as the sole language of the state or as a useful part of the individual's multilingual repertoire. Most of these differing positions allow for the cultivation of second language competence by native speakers of English. LEX Language Project's provision of multilingual ability to those who speak English already thus finds no conflict with dominant ideologies of language education in the United States. In addition, members' suggestions that LEX Language Project activities inspire "tolerance" find particular resonance with twenty-first century discourses of liberalism as a cultural ideal in the United States (Brown 2006).

The analysis of members' spoken discourse in Chapter Four suggests that, unlike Hippo Family Club in Japan, LEX Language Project members in Massachusetts justify their learning practices by referring to academic traditions, including the work of linguists and other scholars. When club member Brandon notes that the Ukrainian words *sim* (seven) and *visim* (eight) sound similar to one another, he initiates a discussion of "the Slavic languages" and theories of language families and language change that he attributes to linguists. Other members join him in this discussion, offering their own knowledge of various counting systems and suggesting that, as a linguist, I should know more. Where Hippo Family Club discourses in Japan reject traditional systems of education and encourage members to acquire knowledge

naturally, LEX members in the US value their own knowledge through its connection to scholarly tradition.

Chapter Five returns to the examination of cultural traditions in Japan, including the culture of cute (Kinsella 1995) and the bureaucratic control of education policy (Horio 1988, McVeigh 1998, inter alia), and contrasts these with the marketing of educational products and the local governance of schools in the United States. Since the 1980s, Japanese companies and institutions have used cartoon icons and other 'cute' images to market all manner of goods and services to adults as well as children (Kinsella 1995, McVeigh 2000, inter alia). This culture of cute is associated with a view of foreign, especially European cultures, which are imagined as an appealing alternative to traditional gender and labor roles in Japan. Hippo Family Club's name, its learning practices centered on the individual learner, and its rejection of tradition each relate to this discourse of 'cute' in individual style and corporate marketing. The culture of 'cute' is not found in the United States, where cartoon images of the kind used in Japan's 'character goods' are used only for products marketed to young children. Educational products marketed to the parents of young learners, such as Baby Einstein, Rosetta Stone, and Sylvan Learning, instead tend to reference traditional high culture in their naming and marketing.

Japanese and American approaches to education policy also differ, and these differences effect Hippo and LEX members' understandings of the club's activities. As mentioned above, educational policy in Japanese schools is centrally controlled from the Ministry of Education (now the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science,

and Technology), with debates over curriculum, textbooks, local control, and other policy differences debated primarily from within the Ministry, the national teacher's union, or parliamentary committees. Individual citizens have relatively little access to these debates, and are presented with a univocal discourse on education. This contrasts with the situation in the United States, where district school boards are seen both as systems of professional management and as organs of local governance (Tracy 2007). Debates over education are relatively public in the United States; there is a long history of competing views on the best way to provide education to serve both individual learners and the needs of the state. Against this background, LEX Language Project members justify club activities not as a break from tradition but as an expression of best practices. While Japanese members describe play as a way to return to childhood so that they may discover the world naturally, American members describe the same activities as embodied practice, with "crossing midline" and including sufficient "areas of vocabulary" as pedagogical goals embedded in a play frame.

As a result of their different justifications the same activities, Hippo Family Club members in Japan see revolution where American LEX members see only an evolution of educational practice. LEX Institute in Tokyo and LEX America in Massachusetts both recount the experience of Yo Sakakibara, the founder of Hippo Family Club, at MIT. But where LEX America uses this connection to academic tradition as justification for its activities, LEX Institute stresses that the method was discovered only after Sakakibara left the institution to discover multilingualism on his

own. Club practices and their justifications do not literally 'flow' from Tokyo to other parts of the world. They are taken up and re-produced against different ideological backgrounds, resulting in different understandings. In the words of Susan Gal, "The discourses leak" (2007); the same discourses are understood differently because they coexist alongside different discourses in different settings.

The linguistic and interactional construction of identity is explored in Chapter Six. Of particular importance to this analysis are the practices of adequation and distinction, described by Bucholtz and Hall (2004b) as part of the tactics of intersubjectivity. Adequation, the construction and recognition of shared identity among members of an in-group, is achieved by selectively emphasizing similarities while de-emphasizing differences. Distinction, the separation of the out-group from the in-group, is accomplished by emphasizing differences while ignoring similarities or explaining them away.

The analysis of narratives from the Hippo tapes in Chapter Six illustrates how LEX/Hippo club members are invited to identify with the narratives' protagonists through the practice of adequation and distinction. The story protagonists are described with just enough personal detail to allow club members to see similarities between the characters and themselves. The recordings also feature frequent reminders that these protagonists are members of Hippo Family Club, and that such membership is available to anyone who chooses to join the club. At the same time, club membership is drawn as a highly valued distinction. It allows one connection to

a global field of fellow members, and is evaluated positively by members and non-members within the narratives.

Members who identify themselves with the protagonists of the Hippo tapes are able to project this identity first onto fellow chapter members and then to the club as a whole. The semiotic practice of fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000) provides a link between the individual and the group. Named for the self-similarity of fractals in geometry, fractal recursivity is the projection of the properties of an individual onto a group that individual belongs to, or vice-versa. Each week, chapter members recite the content of these recordings at weekly chapter meetings. This recitation both strengthens identification with the stories' protagonists and with fellow chapter members, who are also reciting the stories and identifying with the characters. The properties of club members depicted in the narratives and those encountered at chapter meetings are imagined to be properties of Hippo Family Club itself. In turn, the properties of the club are seen as the properties of all members, including those who belong to other chapters in other countries. As the citizens of modern nation-states read national newspapers and imagine a relationship with fellow citizens (Anderson 1983), Hippo Family Club members listening to the Hippo tapes together imagine a relationship with fellow club members. The vision of simultaneous existence within an institution is projected onto a vision of "deep horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 1983: 16) with fellow members.

Hippo Family Club is only one of many organizations or institutions that promise group membership across the borders of nation-states. International non-

governmental organizations, religious movements, academic congresses, and multinational corporations, among others, comprise social groups whose boundaries overlap those of the state. When an individual understands her or his identity as partially shaped by membership in such a transnational group and tied to other members of the group – those with whom the relationship is largely imagined without face-to-face contact – that individual experiences cosmopolitan citizenship. Such perceptions of group membership need to be studied both in terms of group practices and ideologies and in terms of other ideologies and practices that surround the individual.

The scholarly disciplines under the banner of sociocultural linguistics are all interested in language practices and language socialization. Such socialization is important not only to understanding the norms of linguistic interaction but to understanding and effecting other social structures. Pierre Bourdieu has argued, "The educational system is a crucial object of struggle because it has a monopoly over the production of the mass of producers and consumers" (1977b: 652). The study of Hippo Family Club suggests that the state does not hold a monopoly on the system of education, let alone other practices of socialization into economic and political subject positions. Yet given their size, movements such as Hippo Family Club are less shapers of the nation-state than they are shaped by national ideologies and institutions. The interdisciplinary study of various transnational movements, their effects on socialization, and the effects of local ideologies on

them, is a step toward understanding the local social practices that comprise

globalization.

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Appendix A
Transcription conventions

Multiparty discourse at Hippo Family Club and LEX Language Project meetings was video recorded and the recordings analyzed. Excerpts are transcribed for inclusion in this text. Transcription conventions are described below and illustrated with examples from the text.

Square brackets mark the beginning of overlapping speech.

```
Tanaka   [aa
Sky      [aa
```

Periods (full stops) indicate short pauses

```
nanka . minna ga
```

Longer pauses are measured in seconds and indicated by numerals in parentheses.

```
(2.8)
```

Out-breath, including laughter, is marked with *h*. Repetition indicates longer breaths.

```
Mikan    hhh
```

Degree symbols surround talk that is lower in volume that surrounding talk.

```
Sky      °yaa°
```

Capital letters indicate talk that is higher in volume that surrounding talk.

```
Tanaka   [THOMas
```

Greater than/less than signs indicate talk that is faster or slower than surrounding talk. Faster than surrounding talk:

```
>padre, madre,<
```

Slower than surrounding talk:

```
<You are Sonoko.>
```

Colons follow segments that are noticeably lengthened.

```
Sky      Su:goi
```

A dash indicates that a word or speech sound that was cut-off.

```
a- menor
```

A question mark indicates rising intonation, typical of yes-no questions in English.

```
mi hermano m:enor?
```

A period at the end of a word indicates intonation typical of statements in English.

```
Tanaka   Yeah.
```

Uncertain transcription is enclosed in parentheses.

```
Sky      (nandemo ii, chotto)
```

Speech which is completely unintelligible is indicated by white space in parentheses.

```
Sky      (   )
```

Additional notes about context or delivery are in double parentheses.

```
((non-verbal sound, using microphone))
```

Translation of non-English utterances are in double parentheses and single quotes.

```
(('seven, eight'))
```

A single letter followed by two dashes indicates places where names or other personal identifiers are omitted from the transcript.

```
My name is T-- H--.
```

Excerpts from the scripted CDs "Hippo Goes Overseas" are transcribed using generally the same conventions used for multiparty speech video recorded during fieldwork. The scripted CDs do not feature overlap or the full dynamic range of authentic speech.

One-on-one interviews with club members were audio recorded and transcribed with less detail than video recordings of club meetings. Overlap and the length of pauses are not indicated. One additional transcription convention is used in transcriptions of interviews. Minimal responses are sometimes interposed within longer utterances, enclosed in square brackets.

```
lots of body, [CDN: yeah] lots of singing
```